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AN  
ESSAY  
ON  
THE ORIGIN AND PROSPECTS  
OF  
M A N.

BY THOMAS HOPE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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# ESSAY

ON THE

## ORIGIN AND PROSPECTS OF MAN.

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### CHAPTER I.

*In most entities organised and living vegetable and animal, of the opposite elements and fluids, the one sort aerial and coming from above, and the other sort aqueous and coming from underneath, of whose meeting, combination and consolidation these entities are formed and increased, after a time a portion no longer in the individual solid parts of these entities already formed finds room so to continue meeting as with these former parts to combine in further additions to their individual extent. This portion then within these former parts finds room to meet only in the first nucleus of new individuals, detached from the former individual, and only similar to the same, which are called its offspring, and of which the former individual is called the parent.*

It is ridiculous to say, as people sometimes do, that organised and living beings, vegetable

and animal, only fulfil the end and purpose of their existence in this world, when they procreate. This is saying that in their individual existence they have no end, no purpose : that those who cannot procreate can have no purpose to fulfil ; that those who can procreate, have no purpose to fulfil till they do ; and that thus the only purpose of the individual is to continue and extend the species : to raise those other individuals only destined to push him off his stool and replace him, without the species itself by its existence achieving any good, effecting any purpose.

But it is true, to say, that since individual existence is at best on this globe only very limited in its extent and duration ; and since that of each species itself must remain less extended, less durable, and less multiplied without procreation, procreation is the means of giving whatever purposes arise from individual existence greater extent, duration, and multiplicity.

On treating this subject it will appear, that as only on this globe in individuals, vegetable and animal, of species composed of few different sorts of component elements, there remains room for these individuals to be extended to an indefinite duration and size, and as in other individuals, vegetable and animal, of species composed of elements more complex and varied, there is not room for such indefinite extension and duration, in these latter sort of entities, it is only through

procreation in them of other individuals of the same species later than, and distinct from themselves, that by means of these later individuals the species can, through many successive individuals, be connectedly continued.

In certain of the lower entities, organic and living, such as certain lichens and zoophytes, of the meeting and combination of elements aerial and elements aqueous, each still in small variety, composed, these elements are still only combined in solids situated so far asunder, as to leave room for the later new elements of the same sort that flow in, to meet and to combine with the former ones already combined, as well as with each other, or at least, where they leave not their new influxes room to be, with the former ones already combined, again recombined in indefinite continuation, to suffer them again to drive these former out and to replace them, so as to enable the entities to offer indefinite extension, or at any rate, indefinite duration, without any elements being in them both prevented from being connected with themselves, and also prevented from being in their uncombined state again emanated from them.

But where opposite elements aerial and aqueous, each more varied and complex, meet and combine in entities organised and living vegetable or animal more dense in their combination, after a time of their opposite inflowing elements a

portion no longer finds room either every where to meet and to combine in new parts, and to consolidate with the parts already consolidated, so as to produce their further individual extension and growth, nor yet to be left to circulate unimpeded through these parts, till again permitted in their uncombined state to flow out. In these individuals, these influxes of opposite sorts and from opposite quarters, wherever in their body they meet, without on the one hand recombining with the solids already existing in that individual, and by new solid parts again connected with its former solid parts increasing its individual growth and extent, and at the same time, without, on the other hand, being by the pressure of these former solid parts again immediately wholly driven out of them, are only by the pressure of these former parts within them combined together in the nuclei of new individuals, separate from the former individual, and only resembling the same, which in this former individual are made like itself to grow and develope, till, no longer finding room in their receptacle to extend and develope any further, they are at last, by the increasing pressure of the same driven out, and then made, by fresh influxes, no longer through the medium of the former individual but directly received from without, to complete their existence entirely separate from the former individual, whose off-

spring they are called, and who is called their parent.

Those entities organized and living, vegetable and animal, in which in different parts of the body are formed such nuclei, which, after a certain period of development are from their interior pushed out, and made to appear at different parts of the surface, and thence, are made to detach themselves, to drop off and to commence a separate existence, are called gemmiparous: and such are among vegetables ferns, and fig plants, which immediately from the leaves or trunk, without any intermediate blossoms or sexual parts, push forth complete nuclei or seeds, capable, on detaching themselves from the parent, of expanding in new individuals like them: and such among animals are those polypi, which, after a certain time from different parts of the parent body peep forth, and grow into young polypi, that detach themselves from that parent.

Nay, we may consider as such the tenia springing forth in the bowels of man, which from its extremities puts forth new tenias that like the pine apple among plants, without detaching themselves from the parent, find room enough to expand and attain their full growth, and by in their turn procreating in the same way, produce a connected chain of animals, lengthening by degrees.

In entities of an organic and living sort, vege-

table and animal, in which, of the elements of an aerial sort which I shall now begin to call male, as being those in which originate the male sexual parts, and of the elements of an aqueous sort, which I shall now begin to call female, as being those in which originate the female sexual parts, each separately already are in too great variety to find room immediately to combine with the other in the inside of the parent entity, in the nuclei of new individuals, singly already having the whole of the elements or fluids of the parent, each first only combines separately in one of the two opposite halves of those elements: of the male elements, coming from on high and aerial, the part not finding room to combine in new additions to former parts of the same sort in the parent, first only in the parent body combine and consolidate separately in new intervening solid parts, different from those of the parent, called expressly male; and of the female elements, coming from underneath and aqueous, the part not finding room to combine in new additions to former parts of the same sort in the parent, first, only in the parent body combine and consolidate separately in new intervening solid parts, different alike from those of the parent, and from those of the male parts, called expressly female. In vegetables, the former new parts are more particularly called blossoms and the latter new parts seeds: in animals, the former

new parts are more particularly called spermatic ducts, and the latter ova; and in both the new sets of organs are collectively called sexual.

I say, that in individuals of certain species, vegetable and animal, the incoming saps aerial and aqueous—male and female—not only find not all room to combine in fresh solid parts, accruing to the former individual solid parts, and to make these former solid parts receive further growth, but find not even all room, within the same parts of the parent individual, directly to combine in all the parts of a new individual, or offspring like that parent. Only in one place the male saps, and only in another and different place the female saps, each separately find room first to combine and consolidate in a different half of the whole mass of organs, necessary to form the full complement of elements of a new individual like the parent; and each leave the other half to be combined and consolidated in another place, different and distinct from theirs; so that, after the two different and opposite halves of these elements have each been somewhere separately combined, they still require to have elsewhere their effluxes united in one single embryo, in order to be able to perpetuate the species: and these are the causes of the distinction of sexes, and of all the subsequent contrivances for the reunion of the different efflux from the organs of each, existing in the individuals of certain species, vegetable and animal.

In different species, particularly of the vegetable sort, in the first solid organs both male and female thus from the fluids aerial and aqueous separately formed, these fluids meet in their way to the opposite fluids with later obstructions less or more multifarious, at each of which they revert backwards to the extremity whence they came, and recombine with the elements from without coming from that same side, in new proportions, which make them consolidate in new forms, and thus compose on the one side blossoms, and on the other side seeds, in their component parts less or more complex, diversified and often beautiful, before by the union of their opposite fluids, the male parts fertilize the seeds of the female parts, and render them capable of further developments, like those of the first embryo or nucleus of the parent.

But at last, the parts male and female, encountering from without no further obstructions, are made from within to elongate and protrude outward, the male parts in a glandular organ called in vegetables anther, and the female parts in a tracheal organ in vegetables called vulva, or pistil; and when, by further effluxes from the parent body, in these sexual parts are poured more elements than their formation can consume, and their capacity can hold, the insensible emanations of these elements grow externally in different parts of the body, in the shape of vegetable down, or animal hair, or horns, or beard, or



feathers, and even in the males of certain insects, such as the ant and glow-worm, in that of wings, which the female has not, and which serve that male to approach the latter, signs of what is called puberty : and which begin to make a considerable difference in the outward appearance of the proud cock and humble hen, the noble stag and meek doe, and the shaggy lion and sleek lioness.

The more sensible and copious local effluxes of these superfluous elements from the male parts of vegetables are called pollen, and from the male parts of animals are called sperm.

Of the elements and fluids more aerial emitted by the male, and more aqueous exsuded by the female parts, the reunion and remixture, however, is necessary to complete the whole of the elements male and female, or aerial and aqueous, similar to those in which began the parent individual, and which are again necessary to begin the complete germ or nucleus of new individuals similar to that parent.

In some species vegetable and animal, the parts sexual both male and female, though the elements and fluids that form each begin in the same individual to flow from opposite quarters very distant, still are in the same individual brought and developed so very near each other, that while they already remain distinct and separate, the male parts originating from on high

and the female parts originating from underneath, they yet, as it were, embrace and interlace with and pierce each other, and together form a single body; so that when the time comes for the male parts to eject their pollen, this prolific juice can easily flow into the female parts, at the same time expanding and thirsting to receive it in their calyx, and there remix it with their own outflowings in the full complement of substances fit to begin the nucleus of a progeny like the parent.

According as the fluids male from above are, by the pressure of those female from underneath, in their career through the vegetable stopped higher up or lower down, the blossom, formed of the junction of the sexual parts male and female, is made to peep forth and to show itself externally higher up or lower down in the plant. In the stapelia, it appears immediately above the roots, in the lower part of the stem: in the cactus, it may be traced through the whole body of the leaves unto their utmost tip, before it there expands. And these instances may have their analogies in certain zoophytes or polypi not yet investigated.

In other species, vegetable and animal, the parts sexual male and female, finding obstacles to their union greater and more insurmountable, each are singly completed at a distance less or greater from the other, and are only later contrived

to make the superfluities of the elements that formed each separately, meet in the nuclei of new individuals like the parent. Such are among vegetables the horse chestnut, in whom the fluids male and female still each only forms separate blossoms on the same branch or spike : such are the maize and the banana, in which the parts male are made to expand near the top, and the parts female near the bottom of the plant : such, in fine, seem to be some minor species of animals, in which the parts sexual male and female may be traced in the same individual, distinct from each other. So peculiar, however, often is in these animals the relative situation of these opposite parts, that the parts male cannot pour their prolific fluid in the parts female of the same individual, and that each individual wants another individual with whom in turns to act the part either of male or female.

Thus far, however, vegetables and animals, still showing their parts sexual male and female completed in the same individual, still are called androgynous.

But in some species, both vegetable and animal, in which the elements of each different sort of fluids, both the male and the female, are again more copious and varied, the same individual finds not room after its own proper parts are completed, to complete or even to begin the separate parts sexual both male and

female, destined to complete other individuals like itself, to drive these parts out, and to make them both expand as appendages to the same single parent individual. In these species, in each separate individual, which ever of the two opposite fluids, male or female, first gets the preponderance over the other, stints that other of the room necessary for forming its separate solids, or at least for bringing these solids to complete development and maturity, crushes them in the bud, and again absorbs and takes to itself all their decombined elements. In these species, each separate individual, itself composed of the meeting, mixture and combination of elements both aerial and aqueous, both male and female, cannot find room in its single body, of each sort of elements to supply a sufficient additional superfluous quantity, even for the separate formation and completion both of the parts male and parts female, each able to exsude enough of the different elements of which they were composed, to remix with a part of those exsuded by the other, into the nuclei of complete new germs like those of the parent. In these species, each individual, after a certain period of individual development, and when it begins out of its superfluities to form sexual parts, only finds room to form or finish one sort of sexual part, either that male or that female, exclusively, and leaves to some other different and distinct individual the task of forming or finish-

ing the other sort of sexual part, of which the exsudations must be remixed with those of the former, in order to complete the germ of an offspring having all the parts, common to both parents.

In these species, each individual, itself first beginning to be formed out of the mixture of elements both aerial and aqueous, both male and female, and thus in its own individual, still androgynous, after a time becomes in regard to the parts destined for procreation, exclusively male only or female only; and the species becomes divided in males and females distinct and separate from each other, whose issue must be remixed before through their medium can out of them be made to arise new entities of the same sort, distinct from themselves.

Of all these circumstances, small as were the advances of the ancient Greeks in physiology, Plato seems already, whether through the force of his own genius, or more probably, thanks to the early eastern philosophers whom he does not quote, to have obtained a glimpse, where he asserts that in an anterior state of existence more perfect, of which he only paints our present condition as a later corruption, man was not only immortal but androgynous, and consequently not only exempt from the distinction, disparity, discord and strife, which now arise between young and old, parent and offspring, the sage

and the unexperienced, but free from the dependance and contentions which have among their later posterity been by these distinctions entailed upon man and woman, husband and wife.

It is certain that on this sublunary globe, only from its divers materials not finding room, at all times and in all places, to mix in equal proportions, proceed, not only the combinations of some portions of its different elements in species inorganic and organic, vegetable and animal, different from and inferior to other species, which remain wholly distinct and separate from these other species, but, in each of the organic and living species, the distinction of individuals, simultaneous and successive, distinct from each other, and the necessity of some of these falling to make way for, and give room to others to rise in their place; and even in the higher organic and living species and individuals, instead of the union of each sort of element into a single central organ more perfect and more powerful, and consequently the blending of all the organs, here separate and distinct, that separation by which the organs which arise first, by their resistance and obstruction, force the elements of other organs vital, sensitive, intellectual and reactive, formed later than themselves, to become split and divided in two distinct halves of the same current, or in two currents opposite each other, forming organs of sight, of thought

and of action, eyes, ears, lobes of the ganglia and brains, arms, legs, &c., in halves, in pairs, in doubles; and thus, by being more divided, rendered less powerful and less efficacious.

It is certain that this same want of room, instead of allowing each part of each individual to receive from new external influxes those constant additions, which must render its single extension and duration indefinite, prevents each after a time from further influxes to receive to its own individual new increments which would render it immortal, but obliges these further influxes only in the parent to form nuclei of new individuals separate from that parent, which only acquiring in the parent body a certain degree of development, are at last by its want of farther room to retain them driven out, and made to commence an existence wholly separate, before they find space to complete their individual development.

It is certain even that in the organic entities, formed of the meeting and combination of elements, partly coming from on high and called male, and partly coming from underneath and called female, each more varied and complex, of the opposite elements which by their combination have brought their own individuals to completion, only one half finding in each individual room to begin the nuclei or germs of new individuals like the parent, and forcing the other half only to be formed in another individual,

from which the former has been excluded, into the other half of that nucleus or germ, is the cause, first of their arising parts male and female distinct and separate from each other, and next, of the distinct and separate issue of each of these parts again requiring to be again joined and mixed, in order to complete the nucleus and germ of new individuals like the parent.

And it therefore is probable that in a world, a globe, more perfect, more ample, more central than the present, in which every one of its component elements will every where find room to mix with every one of its other different and opposite component elements in more equal proportions, not only these elements will be recombined in such a way as to remove all distinction of inferior and of superior species; but, in the single exalted species remaining, will remove all distinction of different individuals simultaneous and successive, each only individually limited to a short period of extension and of duration, each forced to make way for other individuals distinct from itself, standing beside or coming after it; and most of all, in that single remaining individual will remove the super-added difference of a male and female sex separate and distinct from each other.

Indeed this supposition, this expectation, our Saviour seems to confirm when he says, that in a higher and more perfect future state man will no longer be subject not only to death but to marriage, to giving in marriage; and thereby seems to



imply that there no longer will be any distinction of sexes, nor any mutual dependance arising from that division; no necessity for a reunion in order to continue the race; none of the strife and discord resulting from that partial reunion while it lasts; none of the loss and grief which must nevertheless arise from its being again some time or other dissolved; and none of the other drawbacks upon the felicity of our present existence, proceeding from its being parcelled out among lesser individuals, each limited in time and space.

Let us see how in organic entities, vegetable and animal, the elements and fluids, male and female, by the orgasm which their superabundance causes in their separate receptacles, forced out of these, made to overflow them and to expand in outer space, are again made to join, and to complete the nuclei of new individuals like the parents.

In most vegetables, where, by the separation and distance of the males and females, the pollen ejected by the male cannot immediately drop into the calyx of the female and fertilise her offspring or seed, the breeze is entrusted with the task of conveying that pollen to its receptacle; though it often fails of fulfilling its office, when the distance is great.

In the valisneria, an aquatic plant of which the male flowers, while immature, remain by their stalks confined to the bottom of the waters, that maturation which renders the pollen ready for

explosion, pushes the flower from its stalk, makes it rise, liberated from its shackles, to the surface of the wave, and there causes it to float among the female blossoms, ready and thirsting to receive its fertilising pollen.

In animals endowed with sensation, the scent, the effluvia of the female elements attract the male. In fishes, however, in which that scent, while those elements remained imprisoned in the female womb, could scarce be sufficiently powerful and diffusive to attract the male, the female is, by the maturation of her fluid, made to emanate this latter in the shape of eggs, without the co-operation of the male, who never approaches her person, but only fertilises her offspring after it has been pressed out of the womb, and then spreads over it the elements wanted for further completion and development. Some species of domestic birds, that are by man made to feed copiously, fare the same. They drop their ova before these are by male fertilised: but in these, after being thus dropped, the opportunity for performing that act no longer exists.

In frogs, toads, and some other amphibia, the male seems himself, by the very same voluntary act, to press the ova out of the female body, and to fertilise them on their passage into open air.

In other animals the male fertilises the ova of the female in her very womb.

After the fluids male and female are thus reunited and enabled to complete the nuclei of

new individuals similar to the parents, in the very body of the female, they are left, in some species, to receive in the womb a development less or greater than in others, before they be, for want of further room, from that womb expelled, and made to finish their further development in unconfined space.

In many plants and animals the mixed and fertilised elements are in a still liquid state, and in the shape of seeds or ova, already emitted, and of these entities the parents are called oviparous. Of many genera, vegetable and animal, the offspring are only out of the maternal womb by greater influx of air made to acquire even their first, as well as all their later, different solid forms. Such are most vegetables, and such are many insects. These latter first only issue from the egg as a worm, and only by degrees, in outer space, become, first still seemingly torpid chrysalides, and at last lively flies. The same is the case with the offspring of the frog, which first from the egg issues in the pool a mere round tadpole with a long tail: is afterwards, by new obstructions arising to the flow of its plastic fluids, made to reabsorb that tail, and to shoot forth anteriorly a head, and sidewise four legs, with which it leaps on land, and skips away a frog. In human beings the tail is reabsorbed in the very uterus, in which man already receives his last forms, though not his last proportions.

Some plants, such as the *nymphæa nelumbo*, and many species of animals, are retained in the parent womb not only till they are consolidated, but till they develope in solid forms more or less complete, before they are permitted to commence a separate existence; and the parents of these are called viviparous.

Of viviparous entities some still issue their young in an early state, and before they have acquired their last solid form; others, like the pipa-toad and the kangaroo, after having sent their offspring forth, still offer it an occasional shelter within the very integuments of the parent, till more inured to the contact of external elements; others, when they once have dismissed their young from the parent mansion, never recal them within its shelter.

No individuals of any organic sort, vegetable or animal, since they can only be formed of the union of certain elements aerial and male, with certain elements aqueous and female, can, on their first formation in the shape of a seed or ovum, yet have any signs of a separate sex, either male only or female only. Out of the later separation of certain portion of the fluids aerial and male, from certain portion of the fluids aqueous and female, both superfluous to the formation and support of those parent individuals, and which go to the formation of new individuals of the species, and out of the predominance of one of these superfluous fluids over the other, can

this separation and distinctness of the two opposite sexes in an individual, be later produced. But this separation, and all the other events that ensue and that produce a reunion of part of the elements separated, may in different species, vegetable and animal, take place at very different periods.

In some plants and animals a single season sees the parent seed or ovum develop not only in all the essential parts of the individual, but in all those other parts necessary to the procreation out of the same of new individuals of the species; and even sees the parent individual, exhausted by the exertion, fall and die, while the offspring rises and flourishes. Plants of this sort are called annuals.

Other plants and many animals require many years of growth and development, before their individual parts are reduced to that state of repletion in which, of the elements taken in by them, a part, again obstructed, is again turned off and made to contribute to the formation of new individuals.

The aloe lives many years in a state of sterility before, by one great effort, it collects the elements necessary for a fructification, which is usually followed by the death of the parent.

Some vegetables die after a single act of generation; others, that have once begun, go on, year after year, repeating the production of fresh blossoms and fresh seeds.

In most vegetables, which have endless repetitions of similar individual parts distinct from each other, each of these parts also produces, after a time, endless repetitions of sexual parts distinct from each other. A cherry tree is at one season white with blossom, at another season crimson with fruit. The ananas, commonly called pine-apple, from its resemblance to the cone of the pine tree, on the contrary, from its centre only puts forth a single mass of blossom and of seed. Like this vegetable, most animals who have their individual organs each collected in a single focus, separate and distinct from that of other organs, also have the parts of generation arising out of these, all driven to a single extremity, and there concentrated in a single body.

While all vegetables and a few of the inferior brutes not only issue from the seed or egg, but arrive at a large size, and attain a considerable age, before they are made, by the obstructions certain of their fluids meet with in attempting ineffectual additions to the forms of the parent individual, to show any signs of a distinct sex, either male or female, in the higher brutes and in human beings it fares otherwise. Formed of elements more diversified, in them, consequently, sooner commences that want of room for the fresh influxes to be added to the parent stock, which forces part of these fresh influxes to be diverted to the formation of new parts distinct from the former. The rudiments of distinct

genitals, male or female, already in these higher brutes and in human beings are visible long before they issue from the womb, and many years before these parts are brought to the maturity requisite for use.

Some animals that first vent their offspring in the shape of ova, leave to the sun the care of consolidating their fluid elements, and to the inanimate earth that of supplying them, when hatched, with fresh solid sustenance. Some oviparous animals, after hatching their eggs, are made to feel a false appetite, which makes them seek food, but again throw it up half digested; when their offspring, still weak and helpless in the nest, take in with avidity what the parent has rejected, and thus find a nourishment more triturated and easy to digest, till the period arrives when the parent, having regained her strength, no longer is obliged to disgorge her food, and the offspring no longer is obliged to content itself with the leavings of the parent.

In species that issue their offspring in a later solid form, the parent, of that milk, of part of which it first formed the young within her, retains enough, diverted to another channel, that of the mammæ, to find a relief and to supply the wants of her offspring, by feeding it from that source, until sufficiently strong to digest food more crude, drawn directly from without.

## CHAPTER II.

*Confirmation of the foregoing statements.*

THAT in organic entities, vegetable and animal, the influx of fresh elements aerial and aqueous from without, which by their union with the former solids of each individual produce its own fresh growth and extension, when by the increasing density of its solids prevented from combining with these former solids, and only permitted within the same to combine with each other, produce within them the nuclei or germs of new individuals of the same sort with the parents, but distinct and separate from those parent individuals, which, after a certain period of further development and growth within them are driven out of the parent body, and made to commence an entirely separate existence, appears, since the offspring of each individual is always composed of the same species of opposite elements, aerial and aqueous, as the parent or parents, but separated from the component elements of the parent : since, where, by making individuals capons, the elements which divested from the individual would in the same have formed new individuals of the sort is prevented,



the former individuals become, by more of these elements remaining appropriated to themselves, larger and more long-lived; and where, on the contrary, in individuals by their passions this efflux is hastened and rendered too early or copious, they have their growth stopped prematurely, and remain deficient in size and vigour; since, in female bees, in which, when fed with poorer food, the genitals do not expand and develope, when fed with richer honey, the genitals developing render them what are called queens; and since all animals according as more copiously nourished, acquire procreative powers more ample.

That the aqueous elements rising from the earth underneath produce the female fluid and the seed, and that the aerial elements descending from on high produce the blossom, and the parts which fertilise the contents of that seed, is seen in the *solanum tuberosum*, or potato plant, in which too much water retained in the roots, and there producing potatoes, only leaves the flowers formed of aerial descending elements sterile and deficient in prolific seed; and since, on the contrary, the aerial elements from on high mixing in too great quantities with the aqueous elements from underneath, and with these producing too much prolific seed, leaves the plant deficient in succulent potatoes; and since, in an ungenial climate, where the aerial elements from above are not, with regard to the aqueous elements

from underneath, in sufficient quantities to complete certain fruits, the external integuments of flowers and seeds are often formed, but are left mere husks, unfilled with the vivifying principle of reproduction.

That where in each individual of a sort only one sex is left to appear, it is only because the preponderance of its peculiar elements has early in the formation of the sexual parts obstructed, stifled, suppressed, and absorbed the opposite elements which would have formed the opposite sexual parts, appears since, where that preponderance is not sufficient to render one sex perfect, and leaves its parts incomplete, rudiments of the other sex are left to acquire a certain expansion and development; so that entities in which in general only one sex appears, but in a perfect state, when by accident they unite both, have each only imperfect.

That in an animal in whom to parts merely vital are moreover added parts sensitive and intellectual, of these latter, the superfluities equally flow to the genitals, and in these mix with the superfluities of the more fundamental fluids, appears, since the offspring inherits not only the organs and faculties vital, but also sensitive and intellectual, of the parent.

That behind the brain the cerebellum is the organ through the medium of which this brain reacts on, and completes the sensitive and intellectual fluids, in the genitals appears, since the

cerebellum is first formed after and out of the superfluities and outflowings of the brain, and at the period of puberty expands more in proportion than the brain itself; and since castration, performed young, stops the growth of the cerebellum, by stopping the drain upon and afflux from the brain through its medium, which causes the difference in size and in form of the head of the ox from that of the bull; and since people, wounded in the nape of the neck, often in the testicles shrink and lose their prolific powers; and since mental desire of sexual enjoyment causes from the brain through the cerebellum and the sympathetic nerves the blood to be propelled to the genitals, to mix in receptacles, and to drive out of them the seminal fluid; and since, in youths who with strong sexual desires have inadequate powers of gratifying these desires, the cerebellum is found much developed, and the genitals very little, whereas, on the contrary, in those who with great sexual powers have feeble sexual desires, the reverse is the case; and since, in the canine species, in which the sexual inclinations have their periodical ebb and flow, the cerebellum keeps in its swell and depression pace with these tides underneath; and since, excessive venery causes languor and debility, not only in the genitals, but in the brain, cerebellum, and parts of the spinal marrow which connect the cerebellum with the genitals.

That not only of the parts vital, but sensitive, intellectual, and reactive, which are common to both parents, both parents supply a part to the genitals, but that sometimes the part supplied by the male, and sometimes the part supplied by the female preponderates, appears since sometimes the offspring resemble the one and sometimes the other more palpably.

That in females, the superior swell of the mammæ, and their afterwards filling with milk, and pouring out that nutritious fluid, arises from the greater abundance in them of the aqueous sap or chyle, and from the residue of that chyle, after contributing to the formation of the offspring, being made, as soon as that offspring is driven out of the womb, for want of drain downward to flow upwards to those mammæ, appears since, in males, formed of more aerial elements than females, and thus seldomer receiving a superabundance of chyle, the mammæ seldom swell and fill with milk, in its pure uncombined state.

## CHAPTER III.

*Progress which, from their first formation and birth forward, animals successively experience.*

I HAVE described the first rise of all entities, organic and living, vegetable and animal, out of matter thus far inorganic and lifeless. I have just delineated how primary individuals organic and living, themselves not produced by other prior entities of the same sort, nevertheless became capable of in their turn procreating similar later entities. But these two different successive phenomena of nature—the first of which only produces the existence of single unconnected individuals, and the latter of which produces individuals connected with other later individuals of the species—are separated from each other by other intervening phenomena of nature which, especially when organic entities are of the animal sort, and become in their organs and faculties more varied and more complex, also become more multifarious and more striking. Of these phenomena in higher animals I shall here give a rapid sketch.

I have said that various elements of opposite sorts, the one aerial and coming from on high,

and the other aqueous and coming from underneath made to meet, were first, by the opposition of pressure centripetal and centrifugal compressed together in a nucleus, in organic entities of a vegetable sort called seed, and in organic entities of a sentient sort called ovum. That the elements of this nucleus or germ first from radiant and gaseous became liquid and lastly solid. That, as from without fresh elements of the same sorts with those that had first formed this germ continued to flow in it, they combined in the same in its later more internal parts called proper; that while these more internal parts proper remained imprisoned in the more early and external parts called placenta, and thus continued deprived of the more immediate contact with and influx of external air, the organs of vitality, sense, intellect and voluntary reaction outward of which they were composed, did not acquire their last maturity, and the possession of their higher faculties. They already enjoyed life, but not yet sensation, thought, volition, or the power of executing those actions which proceed from will. We have seen that at last, by the growth which continued influxes from without, through the medium of the placenta, give the parts proper, these parts proper are made to press outward against this earlier and more external envelope or receptacle or base called placenta, which first had served them as mould, and next, as they grow, had cramped their

development, till at last it bursts ; when, like the cotyledon of the lowest plant, the placenta of the highest animal, ceasing to be drawn upon by the parts proper no longer tarrying within it, but rendered useless, and deprived of its power of suction, ceases to live, is cast off, and left to decay.

Meanwhile, the parts proper themselves, liberated from their former confinement, do not, it is true, for the first time, permit external elements to enter the pores of their external surface, and their internal alimentary canal, since in certain quantities they had already, through the medium of the placenta, entered both, but enter them more unrestrained, and in greater quantity ; and thereby cause the stomach and lungs to become inflated, to manifest sensible exhalation of the carbon, in the venous blood rising to the lungs, and sensible inhalation of the oxygen from air, in the venous blood remaining, called breathing, which causes more of that blood from venous to become arterial, increases the proportion of arterial blood to that of venous blood, and gives this arterial blood a greater pressure, and a different direction. This meeting of elements from within in greater quantities with elements from without, produces the maturation of the organs sensitive, mental, and those experiencing voluntary reaction outward, and enables the animal to begin feeling, thinking and acting voluntarily.

The different senses, not till then by elements from without sufficiently matured to be opened, and rendered sensible to the influx of these elements, now receive these in the same order in which they had erst contributed to the formation of these organs. Those of touch expand, and become sensible first; next those of taste and smell; and lastly those of hearing and of sight.

The grateful feel of the mother's genial warmth, the pleasing pressure of her soft body, first make her offspring press to her bosom, and nudge between her breasts; next comes the attraction of her effluvia and odour.

The greater influx of external air, causing in its turn a greater abundance and efflux outward of gastric juice in the stomach, causes this stomach, thus far only fed by the mere air that oozed in, to crave more substantial food; and the lips that edge its prolongation and orifice pressing against solid bodies, where there is a nipple overflowing with milk, without intending to do so, draw this milk out, and convert the same into food. Thus also the sense of taste becomes gratified, and what had been first unintentionally experienced, becomes afterwards, from the grateful recollection it leaves, intentionally sought.

The organs of hearing and of sight have their turn to mature next. The eyes, though formed of the fluid or substance of light, first seem like



marble balls impervious to its further influx. As this influx increases, however, they by degrees mature, become transparent, and receive sensations, first of light only, next of colours, next more distinctly of the forms and movements which the arrangement of these lights and colours produce. The infant already squalls with delight at the sight of the moon, at the beholding of a candle, while it still is insensible to the hues of a rose or a carnation. The young animal, at first only able, through organs of feel, spread over the whole surface external and internal of the body, from a few objects not more extensive than that body itself, when in contact with it, to receive a few sensations of feel vague and indistinct, at last becomes able, through organs of sight only contracted to the size of the small pupil of the eye, from objects as wide asunder as the poles, and as distant as the farthest star in the firmament, to receive impressions distinct and definite.

In inferior animals, however, when they first issue from the ovum, the organs of the inferior senses alone seem formed, or at least completed, and fit to serve their purpose. They still have to pass through the condition of chrysalides, before new and greater influxes from without, with more blood from within, compose or finish the organs of the higher senses, which, by the husk of the chrysalis bursting, and laying bare the

parts found underneath, are made to appear and to commence their office.

The maturation of the organs of vitality, and of those of sense superstructed on them, is again succeeded by that of the organs of mind, of thought, of volition, and by that of the organs of voluntary reaction outward, superstructed on the former ones. The animal, having first felt, begins to recollect, to think, to desire, to feel aversion, to will, and to react on things without in consequence of that will.

## CHAPTER IV

*Sleep.*

I HAVE already observed that on different parts of the surface of this globe, the transition from the period of day, when the elements poured out by the sun press strongly upon, and flow copiously in the pores of all organized entities vegetable and animal, to the period of night, when this pressure and influx subside, and when of the elements from without, already absorbed in the body, a portion is again permitted from this body to emanate, already, even in many vegetables, causes the more delicate parts, made in the daytime, in consequence of the fluids they retain, to display a swell, an orgasm and a tension, at nightfall to lose these, to collapse, to close, and to present a sensible sleep.

In animals this sleep is more evident. The external organs of the various senses, then by external influxes less solicited, less filled, are then also left more to return to the collapsion they retained while the animal was in the ovum, the placenta, the womb. They are thus made to shut out the few impressions from without—the few im-

pressions of actual present external modifications, which otherwise might still assail them ; and to cease receiving from without any further sensations of feel, taste, smell, hearing or sight. The arterial blood from within, which driven to the surface of the body during the period of watchfulness, there finds a vent, by mixing with external elements in nervous fluid, producing impressions and sensations of external objects, now, for want of that sort of vent, causes a greater general flush, and a more sensible perspiration.

On the one hand, an excitement greater than usual from within, causing more blood than usual to flow outward, and to solicit more elements from without than usual to mix with it, and even of feeble influxes from without to produce impressions and sensations, may retard the hour of sleep long after nightfall. Children much amused long resist its advances. These advances will likewise be prevented by a greater influx and excitement than usual from without,—by artificial sounds produced and prolonged during the silence of the night,—by artificial lights kindled after that of day has set,—by a strong shock or commotion, or joy or fear produced, and promoting more attention, more determination of blood from within to the external orifices of the sensual organs,—by the intensity of thought and the agitation of mind, which we cannot repress.

On the other hand, an exertion of the external

parts merely vital and insentient, or sentient, greater than usual, strong bodily exercise, great influx of external elements, intense attention bestowed on these, and whatever of the blood driven to the surface causes a great and a speedy exhaustion, by sooner than usual causing the quantity of blood from within necessary, with influxes from without to mix in the nervous fluid, required to produce impressions and sensations of external objects, and by leaving the external orifices of the organs of sense to collapse and close, will advance the hour of sleep, and suffer it to overtake us even at midday. Nay, a movement, a sound which we experience, unaccompanied by any mental effort of our own calculated to employ the faculties of the body, or even the attention of the mind, but sufficient to divert that mind from all impressions more varied and more exciting—the sound of a drowsy ditty, the say of a prosing companion, the seesaw of a rocking cradle, the rustle of a murmuring brook, the reading of an insipid tale, the very sight of the hands alternately opened and closed with monotonous regularity, may advance sleep. As too great excitement prevents, too great lack of such excitement, called ennui, promotes sleep.

In higher entities, at the approaches of sleep, the venous blood from within drawn to the lungs with less alacrity, and the carbon in that blood left to accumulate during a longer time, without suf-

ficient vent, at last produces in the muscles of the throat and mouth a convulsive yawning, which favours its escape ; but as sleep becomes more confirmed, and more arrests even the pressure of elements from without on the lungs, yawning itself again ceases.

After sleep has lasted long enough to leave the blood, rising from within to the surface, there to remain unconsumed by elements from without, to refresh the organs of sense, to refill these, and to reproduce in them orgasm and tension, they again awake, and reopen to impressions from without, and renew their communication with the external world. While they are very young they are soon exhausted, and soon lapse in sleep. Infants, even in the daytime, have frequent and long intervals of sleep.

## CHAPTER V.

*Hybernation.*

IN many parts of this globe, not only the more rapid change from day to night, but the slower transition from summer to winter, by diminishing the influx of heat and other elements emanated from the sun, and leaving on earth substances more to have, by consolidation, their circulation in organized entities, and their keeping up in these entities of the faculties of life slackened and stopped, produces in them a sensible effect.

In vegetables of a more delicate description, the want of sufficient heat already, by causing the fluids to have their circulation stopped even before they reach the parts which they were destined to feed, and to be consolidated prematurely in their progress through the vessels, causes the leaves already expanded in outward air, for want of further influxes from within, to starve, and to drop off; and prevents the leaves still skulking within shelter of the stem and branches from being pushed out and made to expand.

It causes in animals of inferior sorts first, by the slackening flow of the nervous fluid, the

organs of sense first to merge into a sleep more lasting than that of the night, and this sleep next from these to penetrate deeper into the system, and it ultimately even causes, by retarding the circulation of the blood and lymph and chyle, the action of the stomach and the lungs to be enfeebled, the functions of sensible digestion and breathing to be stopped.

The disinclination to excitement, the torpor, the drowsiness stealing upon the animal, especially when of naturally slow circulation, then makes him lose his appetite for food and fresh absorptions from without, withdraw from the garish eye of day to dark places, where, favoured by surrounding obscurity and silence, he yields unimpeded to the total sleep of the senses, and to the great diminution of the vital powers—to that hybernation, which lasts till the warmth of spring, penetrating their abodes, again awakens and makes the torpid animals revive.

In their state of torpor reptiles are in their subterraneous abodes found huddled up as if transformed into stone. Bats and birds are discovered suspended from the ceiling of their caverns as if dead;—experiencing on the one hand no further influx, and on the other no fresh depredation, no decomposition, they may remain for years, while the cause of their hybernation lasts, in that stationary condition. Whenever they are again, by the influx of elements from



without, made to awake from their trance, they feel their compressed lungs, again inflated, dilate, their blood again begin to circulate ; they again unfold and stretch their bodies, and again made by new excitements to feel the wants of life, they again return to light, and resume their former functions.

Higher animals, possessing more internal warmth to oppose the influx and action of external cold on their fluids, seldom hybernate ; but when cold without is so intense as irresistibly to cause the sleep of the sensitive parts, and by degrees the torpor of the vital organs, it generally causes that sleep, unless counteracted in time, to end in death.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Dreams.*

I HAVE already shown that the sleep of the external orifices of the organs of sense, though calculated to prevent the influx of elements, and the impression and sensation of modifications directly from without, affords no reason why, in the internal organs of the mind, the internal circulation of the nervous fluids should stop, and cease to produce those recollections of prior impressions from without, during that absence of fresh sensations directly from without, peculiarly called dreams; nay, in entities that between the papillæ of sensation and thought have those internal ducts of communication which, even while awake, facilitate the production of images, of which the component parts present in time and place an order different from that presented by the component parts of sensations from without, should not, during sleep, and while the nervous fluid is less under the control of sensation from without than during waking, produce images even more extravagant than waking thoughts, and which yet, while

sleep lasts, and while no opportunity is afforded for comparing them with actual impressions from without, are taken for sensations of external objects, and are only recognised as thoughts and as dreams when afterwards recollected on waking.

In general, sleep penetrates sufficiently deep in the system to stop not only impressions from without inward, but also, of the nervous fluid through the medium of the will, the reaction outward on the muscles of voluntary movement. In most entities during sleep the internal will is followed by no corresponding external effects. If we labour to talk, the voice expires on the lips; if we strive to move, our limbs appear of lead—they seem palsied and fettered.

In some human beings, however, sleep seeming to take a hold less profound, leaves the will at liberty to react on the external muscles. Some people in their sleep utter words, and even perform actions, conformable to their peculiar thoughts and desires. Uninfluenced by impressions from without, these words and actions are not conformable to external objects, and often the words and deeds of a somnambulist lead him into serious mischief. Sometimes, again, where the mere apprehension of an external danger perceived would cause the evil apprehended to happen—when the mere trepidation produced by the fear of falling would occasion a fatal fall—the state of sleep, which conceals that danger, prevents the mischief.

## CHAPTER VII.

*In organized and living entities, vegetable and animal, the causes of growth, of puberty, of later cessation of growth, of decline, and of death.*

WHERE we see organic and living entities, vegetable and animal, first beginning in a hardly perceptible solid speck, thence, by degrees, grow perhaps to millions of times their primitive size, and next, again, gradually cease to grow, and become stationary till they again decombine, dissolve and vanish in circumambient air, two questions naturally suggest themselves to the mind: first, how came it, that from so minute a beginning they were gradually made to grow to so great a comparative size? and, secondly, having had the faculty thus long to continue growing, how came it that at last they ceased to grow, and became stationary?

The first of these questions I have already answered in my description of the organs of organization and life. I have already shown, that where an entity is organized, new opposite elements, similar to those of whose combination it

was first composed, continuing from without to be admitted in, and to combine with it, must, to a certain degree, to its former parts add new parts more extensive.

The latter question I shall answer now—beginning to do so by rectifying an error.

It is generally supposed that, in organized and living entities, the faculty of procreating, called puberty, stops individual growth. The contrary is the case. It is the gradual diminution of individual growth: it is the elements poured in no longer finding means either to combine in the body with its former solid parts, nor yet to flow out of the same as they came in, that, by keeping these elements pent up in the body, there forces them to form the germs of new individuals distinct from the parent, which by degrees detach themselves from that parent, and which thus by degrees produces puberty and the power of procreation. Puberty is not the cause, it is the effect, of the diminution and stoppage of individual growth.

The influx of new external elements, which, as long as with former elements already combined in the body these new ones find room to cohere, naturally increases not only the external size but the internal density of that body. At last, however, their circulation is by that increased density itself arrested, prevented from reaching the spot where the new incoming ele-

ments might, by combining with former parts, still further increase the size of the body outwards; and it is then that further external growth gradually diminishes.

It is then, also, that of the incoming elements a part, neither finding room in the body, on the one hand, to combine and cohere with its general mass, nor, on the other hand, wholly again to flow out of it in the shape of different ejections, first in part again repelled, is made to ooze outward in lesser streams at the different principal extremities, and then, with air from without, to combine in the shape of additional down and hair, and feathers, or even horn and others, such as begin at a certain age to adorn certain parts of animals, and to display the external signs of approaching puberty. It is then also that of these incoming elements a greater portion, driven to the genitals, which a former portion of elements, not finding room elsewhere, had formed, and there accumulated, at last, by its titillation, causes new desires, and is made to spurt out in greater torrents, able to form or to contribute to the germs of new individuals like the parent.

After the body has, by the increasing pressure from without on its more extended surface, become prevented from any longer from within growing outward in general dimensions, it still is, by the further influx of external elements, for

a time made to grow outward, in the density and vigour of these intermediate parts, which meet with less resistance from without.

Even vegetables, after they have ceased sensibly growing in the face of centripetal gravitation, in perpendicular height, still continue growing, where they meet laterally with less opposition, in width and in diameter. Animals after puberty still grow in internal density, vigour, and squareness; and in human beings, each individual muscle visibly becomes more full, more dense, more swelling against the next muscle, more distinct from that next, and the whole collective frame consequently more vigorous, and more powerfully knit together.

According as in vegetables the wood, and in animals the muscle sooner acquire, in consequence of the influxes preponderating over the effluxes, in addition to that external length, that internal density which stops all further influx and combination, except in as far as prior efflux and decombination make room for it, further growth ceases on all sides and in all senses. In some plants a single season brings about this period; in others centuries are required for the purpose. Some animals cease their growth in a single day. In fishes, whose muscle is, from the element in which they are born, very lax, growth does not appear entirely to cease as long as they live. In human beings

growth is generally limited to from fifteen to twenty years.

When puberty is carried to its fullest extent; when the living entity enjoys, not only the greatest individual size and vigour, but the amplest power of procreating his species, nature seems to have raised him to his highest pitch of physical perfection. Now let us see how from this he again declines.

The common belief is, that at first, and before the existence of sin, entities of an organic and living sort were destined never to lose their life—never to die.

If so I can only repeat, that the whole modification of this globe must, before the fall of man, have been different from what after that event it suddenly became: that the present state of things can hardly be considered as a further development, a connected change only of the former state of things: that it is nothing less than a total subversion of the same: that before the fall of man, vegetables and animals born cannot have grown, cotyledons and seeds have expanded and dropped off, leaves have fallen, blossoms have decayed, fruits have ripened; since all these phenomena already are accompanied by different forms of decomposition and death: that animals born to procreate indefinitely, without being doomed to make way for the posterity they raised, must



have found themselves sorely stinted for room, when no longer finding any such around them.

But leaving alone what has not come to pass, I shall only say that on this globe, as it now is, decline and death follow so closely on the heels of life and growth, that the very first later influx in vegetable bodies already combined, which in them produces further consolidation of new parts cohering with the former parts consolidated—which produces in them life and growth—if in producing new parts, cohering with certain of the former ones, it also again of others of the former ones, by pressing on these, produces the loosening, the decombination and the exit, already causes a beginning of decombination and of death, although, while that decombination of some parts is accompanied by life and growth of others, more extensive and more luxuriant,—while it thus remains partial only,—is not yet called death. Even of many vegetables, and still more of all animals, certain parts die away entirely, and drop off before others attain their maturity, or are so much as made to begin. Of plants, the seeds, the base, must have their external husks and foundation drop off and die before their internal germ finds room to expand and to develop their first leaves. Those leaves must again fade, and make way for others, before out of these can rise the flower; of the flower the corolla drops off and dies before the fruit can swell and grow. Herbivorous

and frugivorous animals cannot carry on life without condemning foliage, flowers and fruit even to premature destruction and decomposition. As of vegetables the seeds and colyledons, so of animals the ovum and placenta must be cast off before the germ, the parts proper within, can be developed; and certain animals of a carnivorous sort cannot live without dooming to death, even before their natural time, such herbivorous animals as before had committed similar havoc among vegetables.

In man the death which he experiences and causes involuntarily, and from the very impulse of his nature, still is more frightful. He must live, and grow, and develope amid ruin and devastation more extensive. Before he begins to feel, he must already, in bursting from his envelope, leave it to lose its former life: later, every day parts of his component elements dissolve, while others are combined; he loses some of his incipient forms and faculties, while he gains others higher and nobler; nay, after he is said entirely to have died,—after all his finest faculties, not only of body but of mind, are irrevocably gone,—his hair, his nails, his beard for a time still live and grow.

After God, the first author of all that by its combination produces life, and that by its decomposition again causes death, and after time, space and gravitation centripetal and centri-

fugal, the earliest known offspring of God, and the parents of all later modifications—that modification called electricity, is the one which, under the name of cold, while producing a certain degree of condensation and combination, and, in substances combined, a certain suction of fresh elements, still fluid, first in them causes life ; and which later again, by the inverse ratio of its former movements, under the name of heat causes substances before combined again to lose their faculties, to become unable to take in further elements from without, and causes them after death again to dissolve, to decombine, and to lose their very form.

All later and more partial immediate causes of death, and of subsequent dissolution, are only later and more partial effects of the earlier combinations and decombinations of opposite electricities—of those producing cold, and those producing heat. If a man is killed by the pressure and cut of a hatchet, it is electricity of a combining sort and productive of cold that has first formed and next combined and solidified the elements of the steel of which the weight and pressure have severed his neck from his body ; and if man is left to die a slow and lingering, but, so called, natural death, it is that the same electricity, which first drove together his component organs and gave them life, that since has by degrees in them produced such a density that,

unable to let in fresh elements required to replace those flowing out, he is both from repletion and from want made to lose his life. This event in the ephemeris already happens the very day he is born, while of the raven and the crow the useless existence last, they say, a century.

I shall conclude this chapter by the picture of the effect of the aforesaid cause in the natural death and dissolution of man.

Some entities of a sentient sort, such as zoophytes, have no internal alimentary canal whatever. In them, as in vegetables, of external elements, the influx, circulation, and efflux is entirely carried on through the pores at the external surface. In them also the whole of the obstructions which impede indefinite extension and duration must begin solely at that external surface. In those higher brutes, and in human beings in which somewhat later, by the partial pressure of outward air on the external surface, part of that surface is doubled inward and indented into an alimentary canal—into a stomach and lungs—the coats of these internal parts are, like those of the external surface, throughout lined with pores, at which later and more circuitously, of a branch of the external elements begins a regular secondary influx, circulation and efflux.

Of external elements, the continued influx be-

gins first in the external integuments and pores—in the muscle of the body and limbs—to produce a density which by degrees impedes their power of suction and of taking in fresh fluids. These fluids then begin to be absorbed more feebly, in less quantities, and in smaller proportions, relative to the organs whose elements are within decomposed, and thence again driven out. Less lymph, less chyle, less blood venous and arterial are formed, and made to replace the fluids already evaporated before, and to afford matter for farther evaporation. In the external parts a general lessening of swell, of elasticity, of vigour, a general wasting, debilitation and torpor become visible. Less filled, they lose their tone, their power of resisting pressure; and while the body of the limbs becomes flabby and yielding, the joints, less lubricated, become stiff and rigid. The external skin, less alive, and therefore more tardy in shrinking than the parts within, begins to hang about these latter loosely and in wrinkles; and that skin, no longer moistened by an insensible perspiration, becomes dry and parched.

For a time the internal pores of the alimentary canal still continue to perform their office. The breathing continues unimpaired, the appetite good. As external absorptions lessen and become weak, those within seem alone to fulfil the whole task of supplying their place: but the

time comes when these also begin to fail; the breath becomes short, the appetite enfeebles, the digestion becomes weak.

We have thus far only described the decline of the fundamental vital parts external and internal.

At the external surface less blood from within drawn out, and less elements from without pumped in, combine in less of that nervous fluid, which feeds and causes sensations in the organs of sense. These organs receive of external modifications impressions less vivid and less frequent. They lose their acuteness. That pleasure which before they afforded, unsought and without effort on our part, they now only reluctantly, and when studiously their impressions are sought and are dwelt upon, continue to afford. Sensations of touch, which before would set the frame on fire, and produce a thrill of pleasure, now glide over the body unheeded; delicate wines and rich viands sooner pall upon the taste, and more want the stimulus of spice and relishes; the perfume of the rose and jasmine no longer fill the sense with gladness—the balmy breath of spring no longer produces ecstasy in the spirits. The most heavenly music, though still approved and relished by the scientific ear, would no longer vibrate in the mind, nor, after ceasing to strike the sense, continue to haunt the memory. A fine view would only be beheld

with calm content—a handsome female, like a beautiful vision. We would seek the charms of internal objects from recollection of the feelings they once had inspired, more than from the idea of their occasioning fresh raptures.

As the internal vital parts would retain their moisture and tone longer than the external surface, so would the internal organs of the mind retain their succulence longer than the external organs of the sense. As we received fewer present sensations from external objects, we would from a greater distance in the memory recall past sensations, and in the imagination anticipate future sensations. Those of infancy, during the period of youth and manhood laid by, or eclipsed by other more vivid perceptions of passing objects, would, when that present began to lose its charms again, with more minuteness be summoned up; those of old age would inspire greater solicitude; all the mental lumber of past times, long laid by and forgotten in the furthest recesses of the memory, in order to give way for the enjoyment of more recent events, for the forming of more proximate projects, would again be revived, be dragged forth into sight; we would be more sluggish in action, but more intent on contemplation. The travelled man, who at different periods of his life had visited the same scenes, performed the same actions, would be astonished to find that on reverting to his recollections of

past times, the first and most distant in date were those that presented the impression most minute and most vivid. Even he who had never stirred from home would not be capable of travelling far back in space, at least travel back in time, further than he had done during his middle age; and, in proportion as in reality he proceeded farther forward, would in imagination retrograde further. The first dawn of life, dimmed during its midday glare, would in its evening again acquire a dusky clearness, and from afar spread forth a new twilight. We are struck late in life again to behold in our mind the events of our childhood, long consigned, as we thought, to irrecoverable oblivion, reappear like flitting phantoms. Of friends long gone by, the spirits again start up, again hover before our eyes, again converse round our couch.

If we still, from old habit, busy ourselves with the living, it is only as they are going to replace us. We toil for their benefit, their pleasure, their recollection of us—the name we shall bear on their lips, the feeling we shall leave imprinted in their hearts. If we still give our attention to trifles, it is to trifles which to them will seem of importance. It is about the permanence of our fame, the interests of our posterity, the completion by others of the works by us begun, that we feel solicitous. But while in infancy each day, filled with a thousand minute objects, seems to us a year, every



year as we advance, on retrospection, seems a shorter hour. It follows its predecessors with more rapid strides. Yet the long and frequent sleep which shortens the real sentient existence in infancy, in age is become a light, uncertain, oft-interrupted dose.

After the body had begun to weaken and the sense to blunt, the mind would still for a time preserve its brightness, like a flame that burns clearer as the fuel that supports it is consuming. Concrete ideas would more run into abstract thoughts, mere facts more into inductions: thoughts would only be prized as they led to inferences; and as fewer new ideas would occupy the mind, the old ones would become more methodised, and be arranged in more lucid order.

Presently, however, our cerebral apparatus would begin to partake of the general debility of the body. The cerebral fluid, becoming torpid, would cause the imagination to stagnate; the very memory, the storehouse of the mind, would fail. We would forget, first names, next facts; at last we would perhaps fall into complete dotage. We would, in the very midst of our friends, cease to recognise their voice. Of the brain, fast shrinking, the ducts, no longer moistened, would dry up, and, like the wasted kernel of a nut, begin to rattle in their case. But it is lamentable to think, that often the cessation of drain by the

mind may for a time again, by leaving the body better supplied, prolong and restore to their functions the organs of mere vitality.

The organs of sense, long dimmed, would at last, one by one, entirely lose their faculties; they would depart in the inverse order of their arrival. Loss of sight and of hearing would loosen and remove the ties that attach us to external objects; palsy would cut off our communication with them. The organs of reaction outward, first in the ovum only by pressure of its integuments from without huddled together, would now, by failure of support from within, again collapse; the hand would no longer afford a firm grasp, nor the feet give a firm support. The one would tremble, the other totter under their load. The very stays of the body, the bones, would waste away, would become spongy and brittle. The teeth, no longer pressed in their sockets, would drop out of their sheaths; the hair assumes the hue of winter.

Brutes, when the torpor of sleep, of hibernation steals upon them, fly the light, hide themselves from the aspect of their comrades in dark places. Such they retire to at the approach of death. Thence, while such numbers die every hour, so few with their corpses strew the ground.

Man is suffered to make his exit less quietly: friends surround him; watch his last breath;

seem anxious to know when it takes its flight, whither it shapes its course.

Finally, all further suction of external elements by the body ceases: all circulation stops. The extremities become cold and stiff, while in the vitals alone the blood still for a few moments retains its fluidity. The very exsudations, unable for want of vital warmth to evaporate, fall back in clammy sweat on the skin. From the lungs, exhalations no longer perceptibly pass the lips. The icy hand of death grasps the very heart. The last spark of life becomes extinct: the last drop of blood congeals: the last movement stops: the machine, so curiously formed, once so sensitive, is become a mass of mere lifeless clay.

Seventy years or thereabouts is the period usually allotted to man for the performance of this awful round, from birth to extinction, from life to death; when regularly performed, when not hastened by accident or by disease. In that short period he takes leave of all his vast views, his wide prospects on this earth.

But death is not always followed immediately by the entire dissolution of the elements so combined as to produce life. Where heat and humidity are wanting to bring about their total separation, their internal forms still long endure after the spirit is fled. At last, however, all must decombine, and what first came from higher

globes in the shape of radiance, in the shape of radiance reverts to higher globes. There, probably, the elements of this existence recombine in a form more extended, more durable, more perfect: capable of enjoying greater bliss, and liable to suffer less pain.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Introduction to human art.*

WE have carried to his end on this globe the man of mere nature. It is time that we should contemplate that man remodified by art.

The mere vegetable is not yet susceptible of feeling any privation, any pain. It has not yet any purpose of its own to effect. If it answer the objects of other sentient entities, theirs is the pleasure: if it disappoint these, theirs is the pain.

The lowest of brutes seems provided by nature with more means of happiness than of misery. The oyster immured in his tenement, tied to his rock, can of cold and heat, of food and drink, and of whatever else he may want or wish for, by merely opening his shell obtain as much as he desires, and by merely again closing that shell, exclude what more would annoy him. If by adverse fate torn from his native bank, if cast upon the shore, if left dry and destitute, he is picked up, is by a blunt knife scooped out of his receptacle, is swallowed by man, he foresees not his fall, he is made to abandon life with little pangs.

On looking higher up, on beholding certain insects, which, like the butterfly, almost disdain to touch the earth, almost live in pure air, dwell on flowers, feed on honey, bathe in their fragrant dew, live only for love, and seem immersed in a sea of sensual delights, we would at first sight think them the happiest of beings.

As the pangs of the mollusca so the pleasures of the moth still are less intense than we fancy.

With a body still enclosed in a hard insensible husk, a proboscis still encased in a horny tube, eyes still dim, in proportion to the extent and diffusion of their foci or pupilli, blood still cold and torpid, senses still sluggish, a mind still necessarily contracted, able only to call up recollections few and slack, unable to add to the pleasures of the sense the higher enjoyments of the thought; of multiplying the gratifications received from the present by any joys derived from the memory of the past or the foretaste of the future, the insects, beheld with such envy while they flutter about from the rose to the carnation, are yet incapable of sipping delights so intense as those we fancy.

It is true, that, susceptible of less happiness, they are also inaccessible to fewer pains than we imagine.

Nature has more immediately and spontaneously given them all they want for enjoyment: all they are capable of enjoying. By the regu-

lations of that nature each sentient entity is only produced of, and thus among the elements that suit him. Finding himself surrounded by the materials on which he is destined to subsist, the irrational animal is never tortured by the want of such objects as he finds not easily and spontaneously around him.

Even if by the blind fury, or the wants or even wantonness of other entities, injured and destroyed, the insect only in this destruction suffers sensitive pains very trifling.

Shakspeare has said, and in beautiful verse, that the worm crushed suffers pangs equal to those of the giant destroyed : and he has done right. It is well to soften our nature to what cringes defenceless under our feet : but Shakspeare is wrong as to the fact. Entities that have not yet nerves capable of concentrating their feelings, as they are unable to enjoy pleasures very intense, are also incapable of suffering pains very excruciating. If a fly have a leg or a wing torn off ; if he get singed by the flame of a candle, or is by a merciless collector impaled on a pin, the feel of having his powers of movement curtailed is, perhaps, the direst of his sufferings. With a hook transfixing his bowels, the fish is not prevented by the pain from snapping at another baited hook. When we see the intestines of a larger moth become the nidus in which breathes a smaller fly, which, before its eggs are hatched, itself in turn has the

offspring of a still smaller moth again deposited in its own vitals, we shudder at this concatenation of tortures : but, perhaps, we suffer more mental sympathetic pains than the patients themselves feel in reality. When we roast lobsters alive, skin eels without the mercy of first cutting their throats, whip pigeons to death to make them more tender, swell the livers of live geese by holding them over a slow fire, make brawn, by wedging pigs between two boards tied close, we have not, perhaps, the power of inflicting on them torture equal to what our conscience upbraids us with.

Thus little able to feel present bodily pain, inferior animals are unable to retain of sufferings past any recollection ; still more of those to come to feel any anticipation. If they try to avoid a rude contact, to fly from an impending danger, it is only in consequence of some impression made by internal elements on their sense of feel, or smell, or hearing, or sight, similar to that which makes man himself, when suddenly approached by some opaque object, involuntarily close his eyelids. It is a mechanical movement, unaccompanied by thought, by mental pain, by fear.

Without hope delayed, without apprehension of mishap, the millions of insects that every hour fall victims to the fury of the elements or the voracity of higher brutes and of man, embitter not the existence of those that survive.



It is only animals of the higher species, in whom on the vital and sensible organs is super-structured a nervous system more complex and more concentrated, that owe to the same the capacity of combining more sensations, of retaining of these recollections more ample, and thus of feeling not only pleasures more intense, but pains more grievous.

Even the highest of brutes however, still destitute of the mental faculties of abstraction, are not yet liable to the excruciating agonies which from these latter may be derived. In addition to his personal sufferings, no brute can suffer from sympathy with others.

Man alone has by nature been brought forth unable, without assistance, to cope with her spontaneous gifts or inflictions: of many elements of which she is sparing he suffers the want and privation: of many others of which she is liberal and profuse, he experiences the oppression and weight. His skin is so fine, so destitute of general additional covering, as to suffer equally from the extremes of cold and of heat. He alone has a stomach so feeble as often to suffer from food in its crude natural state, and to suffer still more from its insufficiency. He is by hunger doomed to dreadful torture, by thirst made to feel excruciating pain. Yet is he alone, with a heavy body and with sluggish limbs, with obtuse teeth and with truncated

nails, deprived of the means of effectually pursuing, prehending, and tearing to pieces his prey, on earth, or in water, or in air. He is by nature as little fitted for defence as for attack. Even from the sting of the mosquito he has no natural protection: the effluvia of the wild beast give not his senses a distant warning, as they do herbivorous brutes: and his tooth he cannot repel when near. He suffers more also from the recollection of past privations and sufferings, and from the fear of those still to come. Exposed from his birth to a thousand vicissitudes from which the brute is exempt, as his faculties develope he becomes liable to sufferings more intense and more varied.

Thus, however high we may from habit have rated the condition of man, even as first coming out of the hands of nature—however much we may have been taught to think him the most perfect, as he is the most complex of known beings—if perfection consist in possessing all the means required to accomplish the end purposed, and if the end purposed in creating sentient beings must be their happiness, we may fairly say that man, as he issues immediately from the hands of nature, instead of being the most perfect, is the least perfect of created entities.

But man alone, if doomed directly at the hands of nature to suffer both from her parsimony and from her profusion; if by her ren-

dered liable to many wants and privations, from which he alone has been capacitated to suffer great pain; if he alone has been threatened with many inflictions, from which he has been made to experience still greater agonies, has alone likewise from nature received intellectual faculties able to frame the means of overcoming these misfortunes, and to combine her materials in such a way as actually to ward them off.

He alone, where his natural covering is too scant to protect him from heat or cold, has received the faculty of contriving an artificial clothing. When he finds his food too crude, he alone can improve it by cookery; he alone, if he fears the sting of the insect, can interpose the ægis of attire; he alone, if deprived of natural means of attack and of defence, can devise others artificial more extensive, more rapid, more effectual; he alone, in the midst of penury, can by his own labours produce plenty; he alone can, though only through the medium of additional toil, to the reluctant bounties of nature, add all the resources of art; and of these, as human beings rise higher, as their sphere of actions and of sufferings becomes more extended, as more are wanted, more are invented, are found.

Of these resources of art I shall therefore now give a rapid sketch, beginning with those most urgently wanted to alleviate the mere sufferings of

the body, and proceeding on with those calculated to allay the cravings of the mind; at the same time begging leave to observe, that all contrivances of art, only wanted to correct the deficiencies and to prevent the privations incidental to this imperfect globe, can only apply to its peculiar modifications, and can be of no use with reference to a future, better world.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Beginning and progress of human art.*

EVERY where in man the sufferings of the sense first set the mind at work to use the bodily means and materials, afforded by the climate and the soil, for their alleviation.

Already in the wildest state, the warmth of the sun, or the coldness of the atmosphere, the fury of the elements, or the sting of the gnat, the fang of the wild beast, or the violence of other men, would suggest to man against them some means of protection or defence. Man would, if residing on the seashore, of the fish he catches for food use the oil, if dwelling inland, of the beasts he devours employ the grease, to anoint his vulnerable skin. He would rub his body with clay or other ready substances to inspire terror to whatever adversary was susceptible of such a feeling. Where these means proved insufficient, he would of the animal of which he had swallowed the flesh, wrap round his body the coat. He would, like Hercules, stalk about in the skin of the lion.

Less nimble than the fish, less active than the

four footed brute, he often found it difficult, with the bare use of his unassisted limbs, to cater for his stomach, to appease his hunger. He wrests from the ground some stone or stick; sends it after the fleeting animal, and from a greater distance more speedily overtakes and lays prostrate his prey. He learns to forge weapons offensive and defensive. The meat contracts a taint before he can consume it. On the seashore the brine of the wave is seen to preserve, inland the heat of the sun to dry it. He exposes to these his aliments, and learns to render them more lasting and palatable by condiment and cookery.

From the fleeting brook, from the flat surface of the pool, his level mouth laps not the water with ease, like the peaked snout of the brute; he can only with his fingers bring the liquid to his lips with great loss. Hollow clay or convex stones—by the seaside, shells cast on shore, inland, seed husks, dropped from the trees—are seen to hold the rain water; he converts them into drinking cups. He forms his first utensils.

When weary in the daytime he sits down on the ground. At night he reclines to sleep. The roughness of the earth hurts his limbs. With moss he softens its asperities. With the skin of the beast he covers his couch. Thus he contrives furniture.

He cannot always carry about with him what-

ever at times he may want. If for the immediate protection of his body he requires clothes and armour, to these again he adds utensils and furniture, for the preservation of which, he wants some covering more capacious and more stationary. Of some production of the soil—of its mud, its stone, its seeds, its foliage, its wood, even of the hides of its brutes which he has slain, he builds himself a hut. The savage of Austral-Asia digs a hole in the sand; the New Zealander creeps in a hollow tree. Elsewhere stones are piled up in a cabin, rushes form the roof; rude trunks of trees precede the marble columns of the Grecian temple.

The life of the mere fisher or hunter is a life of alternate famine and repletion; superfluity and want, toil and torpor. It is a life in which each man always beholds his neighbour's hand lifted to wrest from him what he himself most urgently wants, most dearly has earned; in which he always wishes to take away the life of every other man, only in order to secure his own. It is a life little removed from that of the most ferocious brute.

Yet many men, whose sense is not active enough to derive from that life much suffering; or whose mind is not fertile enough to devise the means of improving their condition, go no further in art than some contrivance for fishing or for hunting. Stop there in their attempts at

civilization. Content with some fish bone to harpoon the fish who still cleaves the wave ; with a club to fell the beasts, that sweep the ground his invention goes no further. What he wants he pursues ; when pursued he flies, or defends himself ; when sated he lies down and sleeps away his surfeit ; only by fresh wants he is roused to fresh exertion. If declining in strength he feels unequal to the task, he lies down and dies. Resignation is to him less irksome than the trouble of contending with the ills of life.

Where the land offers pasture, where it supports animals no longer fierce, savage and solitary, only with great toil to be mastered in small numbers, and who cannot be collected and kept alive till the hour their death is wanted, but animals meek, slow, gregarious and tractable, easily collected, kept alive, and conducted ; able even while living to afford sustenance with their milk, till their death is more expedient, man will learn to prefer, to the fatigue of performing in silence and in solitude, each time he wants a meal, a dangerous journey, only to attain a sustenance precarious and insufficient, at the risk of being himself devoured, the task of collecting around him these more tractable brutes ; he will quit a condition in which he dreads a foe in every other human individual he encounters, for the greater ease, abundance and security of a pastoral life.



Of the hides of his slain cattle he builds himself a hut. If the beasts still alive want for subsistence a change of abode, he makes them carry his person and draw his property. To portable tents he adds some still more moveable conveyance. He contrives a carriage. No longer obliged to pursue his prey, but to drive his property before him, he moderates his pace, travels at an easy rate with his family. The improvement of his condition stops not here.

No longer fearing hunger, no longer apprehensive of meeting in every other man a being ready to wrest from him his hard-earned means of sustenance, no longer finding entire solitude his only state of security—in ease, in repose and in plenty—he feels the subsiding of the bodily solicitations of hunger occasionally leave leisure for the mental cravings of curiosity; he becomes sociable; to food for the sense he wishes to add food for the mind; he draws nearer to his fellow-creatures, whom he no longer regards as his natural enemies; he forms with them a compact for mutual protection; he associates with his neighbours; welcomes strangers; from taciturn and destructive he expands in talkativeness and in hospitality; the infant and the elder, encumbrances to the mere hunter, to the shepherd by their prattle or their prosing become a pastime and a solace; the traveller, in return for the information he gives, is offered food and repose;

for defence and for company many families congregate their tents into a camp; and, only where camps become too extensive for the territory, do their owners, like the patriarchs of old, divide and strike out different paths.

Mere animal food, unmixed, at last, where life becomes more sedentary, cloy the palate. In his idle hours the shepherd would stray in the woods, would pick some wild roots or berries, and having observed how these propagate, carry home their seeds, and sow them nearer his habitation, in order at a future period with less trouble to raise a crop more abundant. The very dung of his cattle, first cast away, but found to render his vegetables more luxuriant, is now carefully heaped up and husbanded for their improvement. From a mere shepherd he becomes a husbandman.

Discovering that of certain vegetables the saps afford a beverage more palatable than plain water, and the desires of his palate increasing with their indulgence, he would raise fruits, for the purpose of varying not only his food but his drink. After making corn cover the plain, he would make the vine creep up the hill.

His tent strikes root in the ground, his carriage rolls over its surface. He is stopped in his progress by a stream; he spies a tree fallen across the current, a trunk which floats upon its surface; the former suggests the idea of a bridge,

the latter of a boat; paddling along the shore, he finds a substance that catches the wind, and carries him out further at sea; he forms sails, oars, and at last a three-decker, that dares the wide ocean.

Many substances found in the bosom of nature eminently possess certain qualities necessary to solace the human sense, and are as pointedly deficient in certain others. Clay, stone, metals, wood, with the necessary solidity, seldom have the form requisite to adapt themselves to human limbs. Silk, cotton, wool, leather, with the warmth and pliability that afford a grateful feel, have not the cohesion and texture adapted for use. Man learns, by removing from the one its superfluities, by combining together the separate forms of the other, to fit both for his purposes. He becomes a potter, a stone hewer, a carver, a carpenter, a weaver, an artisan, and a manufacturer.

## CHAPTER X.

*Division of property and of labour.*

THE few men who first occupy a region may have the choice of its different parts. The later individuals who spread over the soil, confined by their neighbours, must remain contented with the localities in which their fate has placed them. On these, of part of the articles they want for use and for enjoyment, they may, perhaps, with ease and facility raise or fabricate all they want, and even much more; but are, by the nature of the soil, the situation, or their own capacity and disposition, prevented from producing another part. Other individuals would again be enabled to raise superfluities of the other articles wanted by the first, and want those by these first raised in abundance. Exchanges of superfluities would thus be invented for mutual accommodation, and being found preferable to the labour of forcing nature to yield what it gave reluctantly, would thenceforth be established. Barter of produce would be reckoned upon as facilitating man's means of obtaining what he wanted for his necessities and his pleasures. For the sake of

facilitating that barter, habitations are collected in villages, towns and cities. Of the various articles of use and enjoyment, each individual devoting himself to the production or fabrication only of a few sorts, and of those only that his circumstances best suited him to, and in the production of which habit gave him the greatest expertness, more was collectively produced; and that more was of better quality. Subsequent exchange produced its general diffusion.

While some remained addicted only to hunting and fishing, others to pasturage and tillage, others would from exploring the surface of the ground begin to dive into its very bowels, tear up its stones and minerals, and seek useful metals; others devote themselves to arts and handicrafts, become artificers and manufacturers, and depend on the wants of the former, for the produce of their labour supplying them in return with the produce of their soil.

As regions do not stretch, while men increase in them, many individuals would by degrees arise who could not only find no soil to cultivate, but no raw produce of that soil to fabricate into more artificial objects of use and enjoyment, except by obtaining it from the wants and desires of others to whom they could offer an adequate return, they would offer to these the only thing in their possession—their hands, their labour, their services; and would for these obtain

in return whatever, by these hands, this labour, these services, this land was made to produce, or the productions of it were made to combine into, beyond the quantity the proprietor wanted for his own use.

Thus arose tenants and labourers, who gave proprietors their labour for part of what they could by that labour raise. When of the productions by that labour raised the part retained by the proprietor of the soil, or its raw produce, was defined, and the profit of the cultivator left to chance, it was called rent; where the portions of the produce, or of its value promised to the labourer was defined, and the gain of the proprietor by that labour was left to later luck, it was called wages, or hire.

Whatever property, in process of time, through dint of labour could be made to produce an increase, was called capital; whatever increase it produced, was called income. When the income was not consumed, but was added to the former capital, it in its turn, through further time and further labour, became capable of increasing that income.

As exchanges of produce, of labour, and of services became more wanted, some, to gain their own subsistence, devoted themselves entirely to promote these exchanges for the advantage of others, on condition of being by these others rewarded in articles of more immediate use to themselves.

They became tradesmen, shopkeepers, middle men, brokers. They established shops, markets, offices, warehouses : by degrees trade would extend ; regions more distant would interchange produce more diversified. To home trade would be added foreign commerce. Long however after men had with their nearer neighbours, whose friendship and services they more wanted, established amicable barter, they would still fit out predatory expeditions to wrest from distant nations, whose property they coveted, and whose enmity they set at defiance, by force, what they desired to master without making a return. Thus the Argonauts went to Colchis to ravish the golden fleece.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Brutes only conceive concrete desires of actual, immediate, and definite enjoyments, not of abstract and indefinite desires of property, independent of immediate and certain enjoyment, for the sake only of uncertain and indefinite later possible gratification. They form no idea of assuming the obligation to respect the property of other individuals; of contracting with these a social tie for mutual defence, security, and benefit. Human beings, on the contrary, can conceive abstract desires of property, divested from those of immediate enjoyment: can ensure such property to themselves, by engaging to respect it in other individuals: can contract with such a social compact.*

I AM now going to explain the origin of that right of property, of which those that have none to lose deny the existence, and on the sacredness of which those that have any, as strenuously insist.

Brutes with organs of sense, which, when excited, speak very loud, whenever external



objects excite these organs powerfully, and give them strong desires for the possession of certain objects, take these objects, whether unoccupied, or occupied by other entities whom they fear not, and can subdue or wrest them from. As long as they enjoy those they have occupied, they feel irritated by whatever threatens to disturb their enjoyment. The dog, while gnawing his bone, growls at any other dog who approaches him : the pigeon, by the side of his mate, pecks at any other pigeon that draws near.

But as soon as the brute is sated—as his actual present desires of enjoyment are satisfied ; as soon as he feels no further actual longings to gratify, he no longer wishes to keep possession, nor even the property of what he possessed. The dog abandons his bone—takes his chance of feeling hungry again. He cannot form an abstract idea of hunger, at an indefinite future period, and of then wanting a bone to pick. He leaves the remains of the bone he gnawed to whoever may choose to take it. The lion buries the carcass he has stripped, as an object nauseous to his sense.

Even the desire of sensual enjoyment may in a brute be counteracted by his superior fears. The dog who will fly at the meat when his

master is away, will, when his master is by, avert his eye from the dainty dish, and wait till it is offered him. He feels under the restraint of awe.

Man, with senses less imperious than brutes, but a mind more active, can in that mind form ideas and desires of things not immediately wanted, not immediately going to be enjoyed, but susceptible of being wanted, of being enjoyed at a later and more indefinite future period. He can therefore form ideas, conceive desires of possessing property, independent of ideas, of desires, of positive actual immediate enjoyment; and for the sake of future possible indefinite gratification.

Seeing himself the most prominent, the nearest object in nature, the centre of all surrounding objects, he naturally does not perceive he is to give way to any other more distant object or person: he does not see why he should prefer the wishes, the desires, the interests, the happiness of any other entity, which he feels not, which he knows only by surmise, or knows not at all, to his own, which he is feelingly aware of: nor does he at any period acquire this knowledge. Self is to the last the first object, the main spring of all his voluntary actions. All he

does willingly, to the last still has self for its first and principal object.

At first when hungry he wrests the root from the earth, the fruit from the tree, the life of the brute, the loaf from the hands of another human being; the human being himself, when famished, he devours,—he becomes a cannibal.

When excited by lust he falls on the first woman he meets with.

Nay, as he can form abstract ideas of the convenience of other beings toiling for him, he makes brutes and other human beings his slaves.

He not only consults his wishes, but also his fears, in preference to those of any other more distant entity. If he feels danger or distrust from any other human being, he feels no scruple, at putting him out of the way.

In all this he can only be prevented by the superior might of others, which make him apprehend to experience the fate destined for them, from themselves.

It is true, the rights he asserts over others, if stronger, he in his turn acknowledges in them over himself, if weaker. He is not surprised at their attempts to subdue him; nor does he complain of injustice if they succeed. He only tries to guard against their wiles, as he would against

the murderous fangs of a wild beast. If he is the stronger he generally kills them outright, in order to guard against their later resenting any lesser offence. Kills them at once, lest he be annihilated by them.

Thus far in a state of nature, not only between brutes but between human beings, superior force alone prevails, and fear lays the law.

The state of nature is a state which, when we have emerged from it, is called a state of theft, rapine, robbery, rape, violence, murder, treachery, and distrust, not only among brutes but among human beings: and the more fierce and destructive among these latter than the former, as they feel desires of enjoyment and of property more unbounded, more extensive than brutes; and have, to gratify these, superior intellectual means—superior imaginations, ingenuity, diffidence, and distrust.

Many brutes not carnivorous remain entirely inoffensive and peaceable, even among brutes of very different species. Even the most savage and ravenous, respect their own species, and, except when famished, stand in awe of man.

Man, alone, in consequence of his desire of property, independent of enjoyment, threatens

with constant danger other men. Man has naturally many enemies, but none worse than other men : of none he has more to fear.

No wonder he should try to extricate himself from this state of constant insecurity, constant apprehension.

With brutes he has no means of escape by an agreement. They cannot understand any compact. The lion and the tiger will ever continue, while hungry, to fall upon him.

Even man, the most civilised, and who considers himself most as under certain obligations to those individuals and nations with whom he has made a compact, still considers himself as owing no duties to those with whom he stands in a state of nature, with whom he has made no compact. He wrests from them their country ; he murders them ; he strips them of their possessions ; he reduces them to slavery. It is only lately that the idea of certain moral obligations he owes his Maker, has made him fancy he owes some even to those of his fellow, creatures to whom he is not bound by express ties of fear or interest.

But very early, the man, in fear of being attacked by another man, proposed to a third individual, having no object in aggressing him, to assist him against that first, to be his ally, on

promise to assist him in the same way if he was attacked ; and the third, actuated by fears similar to those of the second, listened to the proposal, and closed with the proposal. Thus was fear the first immediate cause of the civil compact.

Individuals, combining their powers, physical and intellectual, acquired greater means of resisting single or fewer aggressors : felt less fear and gained more security.

Thus far, however, the compact was merely defensive ; but man soon found that he might not only increase his security, but his enjoyments, by adding to his own labour and toil that of others. He bribed others to increase his enjoyments by their labour with the offer of an adequate return. The contract was extended, and made to comprehend conditions more numerous and more varied.

To those who formerly made it others may in the course of time accrue, who, conscious of its advantages, and glad to partake of these, tacitly accede to them ; and these latter in most states form the bulk of the population.

They are treated like those with whom it was found expedient first expressly to make the compact.

But among the number of inhabitants by de-

gress born in or who flock to a country, there will always be found a few who, not having expressly acceded to the contract for the good of all, or from a change of circumstances no longer finding their individual advantage in adhering to it, do not choose to consider themselves bound by its terms, and wish to rescind these, or at least personally to withdraw from its conditions.

According to nature they have an entire right so to do—but at their peril; and as long as society collectively preserves the rights each of its members had before distinctly and separately, it has collectively the right which it possessed before any compact was made, of defending itself against, and of punishing any member, who secedes from the compact, and who threatens its security and welfare.

Indeed, members of a society, in a case in which they are prevented from availing themselves of the assistance of their fellow associates, are entitled again singly to step into all the rights of nature, of which they had conditionally ceded a few, and to defend themselves with all their might and power against any aggression, or even to commence any aggression to their advantage. A man in a boat at sea, threatened to be shipwrecked by the weight of another man

in the same boat, may, without guilt, toss that other overboard.

It will not signify that an individual has not expressly agreed to the penalties others make him pay for injuring or even threatening them. He was liable to these penalties before he made any contract; and his fellow creatures again have a right to enforce these penalties after he has receded from it.

As long as in a country the majority of the population finds an interest in adhering to the contract, and in maintaining its terms against those that secede from it, these latter must take the consequences of their secession, and have no right to complain, even though their entire annihilation should be the result. All they may do is to revert to the rights of nature, and defend their life, if they can, against the majority of those interested to take it.

However, as long as the majority of a nation find the terms of the contract beneficial, they will maintain it even against the few that have an interest to rescind it; and as soon as the majority themselves find an interest to rescind or to alter it, nothing can long prevent the thing being done, expressly or tacitly: nor can it be desirable to prevent it.

At first people only agreed together each to



desist from what could be noxious to others : what could injure the lives, the property, the liberty they already possessed : but, meeting for this purpose, and finding what more might benefit each in particular, but could not by each individually be acquired without the assistance and co-operation of others, each also would try to obtain from others what was for his advantage, by engaging him to do what was for their good. The contract, from being merely negative, would become positive. From only having agreed on common defence, people would sometimes agree on common attack. They would establish a concert in their predatory expeditions : they would plan colonizations in common : they would, in addition to common and public punishments for what are called offences, crimes, institute common and public rewards for what were considered as services and virtues. They would from part of their individual means form a common stock, in order individually to reap from the same a benefit superior to the sacrifice it cost them : they would frame institutions and erect works for the good of the community at large. Highways and bridges for the public convenience would be raised. Fortifications for the public security would be constructed.

Where a number of people assemble to agree upon, and to do all these things in common, they compose a community, a state. Where they

see in common or by deputy to their being duly performed, they have a government. Governments are only framed to execute the resolutions and rules first made by individuals, for the purpose of inducing them to abstain from acts injurious, and to perform acts beneficial to each other.

In all communities the defence not only of each individual in particular, but that of the community at large, was first the business of all—all men alike were first civilians in peace, and soldiers during war. By degrees, as the community extended; as the number of its members increased; as their avocations, their faculties, their habits, and their propensities became more diversified, the burden of defending others became more grievous to some part of the community than to another. The former then found it convenient to itself, and agreeable to that other, to share with that other part of the result of its peaceful labours, in consideration of that other singly taking upon itself all the toils and dangers of general defence. Thus arose a distinction between citizens and soldiers—between men only addicted to the arts of production, and between those engaged only in the arts of defence, and, for the purpose of assisting that defence, in the destruction of the objects by other men possessed: thus arose the stipend by the citizen paid to the soldier.

The first governments were always of a po-

pular sort. Framed on the model of that which in each single family its common parent and chief asserts over the junior and less experienced members of the family, wherever, in a small territory, the few chiefs of different families wanted from each other some renunciation of part of their natural rights over the other,—some promise of services to be rendered on charge of reciprocity,—they all met for the purpose of proposing the measure; of having it agreed to, if agreeable; and thenceforth of having it passed in law, and executed. Each, in turns, was legislator, and became subject to the laws framed: each, in turns, was ruler and ruled.

But where over more extended regions spread a population more numerous and more dense; where the individuals forming together a single community, a single government, became more distant, more diversified in their faculties, their means, and their pursuits; where the concurrence of all to public measures began to require in many persons a greater sacrifice of their individual interests and pursuits than they were willing to submit to, those that lived furthest from the place of meeting, that had most wants of their own to attend to, and least capacity and convenience for attending with success and discernment to the wants of others,—who by attending to those of others must lose most in proportion to what they gained,—proposed to other men nearer, richer, losing less by the task,

and in whose intentions, faculties, and means, the rest more confided, to renounce their private avocations, to represent them, and to rule the whole community in their name, on condition of rendering it worth their while, and making them not only amends for what they gave up, but allowing them out of their own means a superior consideration, in property, in power, in authority, and in deference. Salaries were held out to them, and by the promise of superior profit and authority they were induced to undertake the grievous task, the heavy burden, the awful responsibility. Thus governments, according to the size of the country and number and distance of the inhabitants, from democratic grew aristocratic, oligarchic, monarchic, and despotic. The line between the rulers and the ruled became more distinctly drawn: the former increased, and the latter became fewer. Often, in a country very extensive and very straggling, the government remained democratic in its centre and became despotic at its outskirts. Sometimes, but more rarely, the reverse was the case.

As long as the rulers are at once most well-meaning and most intelligent, the government most despotic is the best. That of a single despot is then superior to all others. He will, and he can, do most good: he is most like God upon earth. No partial interest of a few individuals can control him in his measures for the good of all.

But, like all other individuals, rulers them-

selves are still only individuals, and individuals not always pure in all their thoughts and actions. They are subject to prefer the attainment of their individual desires and whims to that of the general good; they are liable to wish that the government instituted for the advantage of the many may be converted into a means of oppressing the many for the superior welfare of their few individuals. While, however, every man was not only a citizen but a soldier, such evil intentions in the sovereign could hardly be brought to bear. Every man, practised to defend his rights, would be able to defend these even against his own ruler, when seeking to infringe them. But when soldiers were made to form a separate class; when they became more trained to violence, and the other citizens, more prone to submission; when it became easier, by the promise of reward, to detach these soldiers from the interest of the many that were ruled, and to gain them over to the views of the few that ruled, the case became different. Institutions established for the advantage, the defence, and the security of the many, often were turned into institutions for the advantage, the defence, and the security of a few, at the expense of the many: a few became not gods, but devils, and the many became their victims.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Liberty in man over his own actions; power in him over the actions of others: subjection to the actions of other individuals.*

WHATEVER we may think of the existence or non-existence of a liberty of will, there is a liberty of action: that is, there cannot be denied to exist, while we wish a certain thing, and while we possess the means necessary to obtain that thing, the liberty of using these means requisite for that purpose.

This liberty is exerted by each individual, while he remains in a state of nature, to its most unlimited extent. In that state of nature each man uses his means and liberty to attain whatever he wishes for: no matter in whose hands he finds it. If that thing be in the hands of another, from whom he can wrest it, he adds to that liberty the power he possesses to take it from that other. Liberty to a certain degree is inseparable from power. Its exertion, naturally, at a certain pitch runs into that of power, and consequently into that of rendering others subject to that power.

But as, in that state of nature, each other in-

dividual has the same liberty of action with the first, and, when the thing he wishes for, is in the hands of another over whom he has power, equally makes his exercise of liberty degenerate into exercise of that power over the other, for the purpose of obtaining the thing wanted, the liberty of some is soon made to give way, and to be exchanged in them for subjection and for slavery.

In a state of nature thus man, as at one moment he feels less restraint upon his liberty, as he soon pushes it to the utmost extremes of licence and tyranny over others, also is liable soon to have it pass over to the extremes of servitude and subjection.

It is in vain in this world for all its individuals alike to hope ever to combine both the utmost individual liberty of actions, the utmost power over the actions of others, and the utmost enjoyment. As some become more free, more powerful, less checked in their actions, others must become in their behaviour more subject, more restrained, more checked.

Man soon felt this : soon felt that neither the excess of liberty or licence, nor the excess of servitude, contributed to his happiness. He voluntarily restrained his liberty of action, his power over the actions of others, in order that others might restrain their liberty of action, their power over his actions : his subjection and servitude to them. In order that by abstaining

from extreme licence he might be secured from extreme servitude, he renounced that licence which on the whole could do him less good than harm, procure him less happiness than misery, for that modified liberty which could do him more good and less harm ; which could leave him more time and means for rational enjoyment, and could save him more retaliation of evil, more misery.

And the more each individual gives up of his extreme liberty, his licence to rule the actions of other men, his power over these other men, and, with that power, the trouble, the watchfulness, the unpleasant consequence which its exertion requires or produces, the more he thereby gains the security of not having his own actions ruled by others, the more he trusts the power of ruling into the hands of fewer individuals, the more, as long as the individuals intrusted with that power exercise it with impartiality for the good of all, he finds its exercise fall lightly upon him individually, and the more it leaves him at leisure for individual enjoyment.

I say, as long as the individuals intrusted with the power of ruling others exercise it with impartiality, and for the good of all ; for certainly, as soon as, from lack of discernment or from want of good intentions, the few that possess power over the many use it for the oppression of the many, the fewer they are, and the greater may become the weight of that oppression ; the



less they are in their oppression even checked by each other.

Some ancient states of Greece entertained the chimæra, that in a state the population at large could combine, with the utmost liberty the utmost power, and the utmost happiness. After having arrived, after many trials, at instituting regal power, they again abolished the rule of a single monarch, and re-established democracy.

At least they re-established democracy to a certain point. They continued, it is true, to rule with a rod of iron their slaves. They felt that even small as were their commonwealths, few as were their inhabitants, there was not room for all alike to enjoy the sort of liberty they aimed at: that, for a part of the people to enjoy great power, another part must experience great subjection. For one freeman who was a despot at home, there were allowed to be ten slaves without house or home, deprived of friends, family, relations, property; who had nothing to offer to the extreme licence of others, but the contrast of the most abject slavery.

Nay, even then they found that the extreme liberty of the few that remained free, required so much room and latitude, that the moment the number of freemen increased beyond a certain pitch, a part of the privileged number were themselves by the impatience of the remainder, like the young swarm of a hive, driven from house and home, forced to embark, and made to

seek elsewhere, in some uninhabited country or among strangers, a place of refuge, where they settled, established colonies, and sought, by wresting from the natives what belonged to them, that liberty which they could no longer exercise at home. At least they flattered themselves that thus equality of rights and of power would ensure to the limited number that remained behind, enjoyment and happiness.

What happened? Even these latter only exchanged the lighter subjection of the multitude to one monarch, for the more painful servitude of each individual to the will of each other individual in turns. Instead of obeying one king, whose pressure on the many was lightened by the distance from whence it came, by the divided weight with which it fell on all, by its being divested of the sting of caprice, or ill-will, or rancour, or jealousy, or envy, each individual was made to smart under the lash of innumerable tyrants, of endless informers, of a mob actuated by every feeling of spite, of envy, of ill-will, of ignorance and of caprice: instead of the most exalted, the most enlightened, the most interested in the welfare of all ruling the mob, the most ignorant, most prejudiced, most ignorant of the mob had the greatest sway. Instead of the multitude being subject to the rule of those who had most will and most interest to govern well, these latter became the slaves of the former. Aristides was condemned to exile

because a cobbler grew tired of hearing him pre-eminently called the just. Nay, what was called democracy, only degenerated into a mere struggle between two opposite factions, each as oppressive, as miserable, as unhappy as the other.

## CHAPTER XIII.

*Slavery.*

THE man of mere nature who claims, who asserts a right over the lives, the property, a fortiori asserts a right over the liberties, of whom-ever he can make his slave. In a state of nature superior strength alone decides who shall rule, and who shall obey. Like the beast, the weaker human being is made to bear the strong man's burden. Even highly cultivated nations of ancient times still, wherever they had not for mutual advantage entered with each other into any agreement to the contrary, like the Tartars of the present day, made predatory expeditions against their neighbours, deprived them of house and home, and led them into captivity on foreign shores, merely to obtain domestic slaves. The noblest youths, the highest born dames of Troy had to endure all the degradation and the sufferings of servitude, under the roof and in the fields of a Grecian clown. Only by degrees did men of more humanity, even without the restraint of express compacts, reduce the right of making slaves; first only continue to exert that right over nations ruder and possessed of feelings less

acute than their own : and lastly, abandon it with regard to all who like themselves bore the human form : and it is said, that those must be very dull in body and in mind—very low in the scale of humanity—from whom services more valuable cannot be obtained by good-will, by an adequate return, than can be extracted by mere stripes and compulsion. Even a horse, treated with gentleness—spared the whip and the spur—in general becomes more tractable, more docile.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*Arts of imitation, modelling, moulding, chasing, carving, painting, pantomime and the drama.*

PEOPLE wonder that a comparatively early nation—the Greeks—should have carried the imitative arts—those arts that first address the ear and eye, and that next, through these organs of the external sense, speak to the mind within—the arts of modelling, carving, painting, poetry, pantomime and the drama—to so much greater perfection than those nations that flourished later, and surpassed them in science, since have done : that the works of the ancient Greeks in the imitative arts should to this day serve to the most refined modern nations as models, which their utmost efforts cannot equal.

This is partly owing, no doubt, to nature having supplied them with the finest models : but moreover and especially, because, being themselves a nation by nature highly gifted, and having made great strides in most of the arts not only of utility but of pleasure ; not only of necessity but of luxury : having distinguished themselves as warriors, as statesmen, as philosophers ; having acquired extraordinary proficiency in all bodily

prowess, and in all mental accomplishments; having been engaged in transactions private and public of the greatest moment; having conceived a system of gods and rulers very exalted whom they felt bound to worship; having signalized themselves by every species of talent and merit; having from vanity, from pride and from policy, felt desirous of showing the greatest sense and gratitude for past services to the community, and of affording the greatest excitement to future benefits conferred on that community, by giving them the greatest notoriety, and retaining of them the most lasting records and monuments, before the art of writing was invented, or at least was in common use, they could only attain these ends through the medium of the various imitative arts: because the works of these arts, consequently, serving as archives and monuments both of private agreements and public treaties—as documents alike of private deserts and of public claims—were regarded as of the highest consequence to the welfare of individuals, and of the state at large; because, having for their object the conveyance of the most important intelligence in the clearest and most direct manner, they not only on the one hand aimed at expressing what it was essential, and the very purpose of the work of art to convey to the sense and mind, in the most clear, accurate, direct, straightforward

and faithful manner, but on the other hand, at keeping it carefully disencumbered of whatever, though in itself accurate and faithful in as far as imitation, but only introduced for the mere adventitious purpose of pleasing the eye and mind, was at best apt to bewilder, to divert the attention from the principal object proposed, to destroy its unity and simplicity, and easily became meretricious ; because, as the truth and merit of the works of imitative art were thus of the highest consequence to the welfare, the glory, of the community ; the merit, the morals, the rank, the estimation, as well as the talents of their professors were of equal importance ; and because, in a country where every man consequently became an excellent judge, and an ardent patron of their productions, those who were intrusted with their performance, and executed their task worthily, were looked upon by others, and looked upon themselves, as characters entitled to the highest consideration, and spared no pains to attain the highest excellence. Thence it is that the Greeks became the first painters, sculptors, musicians, mimics and dramatists in the world. Thence, finding that the different features of beauty were only each in their highest perfection found in different real individuals, they thought of collecting their representation in imitative individuals, which thus singly surpassed in perfection any real ones that had existed before.



A strong impulse given will often continue to act, and even with greater effect, for some time after the cause of the impelling force has ceased. A fire will burn brighter, when the fuel that fed it is nearer being consumed.

Perhaps the vivifying principle had already begun to flag when Phidias produced his Jupiter, and Polycetes his Venus: but finally, by the prevalence of the art of writing, the imitative arts, no longer remaining arts of direct necessity, or even of the highest utility, the highest consequence to the state, and to those intrusted with its most important concerns, but becoming arts of mere beauty, ornament, pastime and pleasure to the idle and the frivolous,—losing their severity, their simplicity and their modesty,—no longer serving as instruments to the most noble purposes, no longer exercised with the most religious, most patriotic, and most exulting feelings, fell from their high estate, and have never since recovered it.

## CHAPTER XV.

*First auxiliary and representative art, that of oral or spoken language.*

PEOPLE often blame others for speaking before they think. Literally the thing is impossible. We must think to a certain degree, we must have certain ideas concerning things before we can be prompted to express these ideas in words, in language; but we may have concerning things ideas, and we may use words, we may employ language, more confused, more unconnected, or more clear and more connected; and when people say that others speak wholly without thought, they must be understood to mean, with very little thought, before they utter that thought in speech.

Indeed people who have a great exuberance of animal spirits, which they want to vent, often do so. Before their ideas are so defined, so digested, so connected as to be worth communicating, they will hastily express them by short detached sentences, which individually have already in themselves some meaning, but of which

the meaning is not yet widely and distantly connected with that of the remainder.

Even a philosopher, and a man of profound thought, Condillac, has said that ideas could not be connected without the use of words; that consequently words preceded the ideas representing them. This assertion, however, is as little true as the former one just controverted. Many external objects and modifications are connected, before the combination of the ideas they singly raise in the mind are so; and those ideas concerning them are again connected before they suggest the words expressive of that connexion. If men had no previous idea of such connexion, they would not want to express it, or find words so to do.

It is true, however, that after we have to different external objects, and to different ideas concerning these external objects, attached certain words, certain signs representing them, these very signs, these very words imprinted on the memory, tacitly recollected, serve to recall these ideas to the mind, react upon them, and give them more precision, more clearness, more order and more connexion, before they are uttered, than they had in the mind before words were used to express them; that many people speak under their breath to assist them in thinking, and that many speak aloud, even where they have no one to listen.

The general idea is, that as there was only thought to be one single primeval human pair, so there originally only was one single primeval artificial and conventional language given that pair by miracle, and by that pair transmitted to, and understood by all its descendants, till by a second miracle a part of these descendants again suddenly forgot all they had been taught, found it unintelligible, and soon were forced to invent new and different languages.

But in the first place it appears probable that there already from the first were many races, widely dispersed over the globe, according to the different climates and situations in which they were produced differently organized, and each of which already wanted, and thus invented an artificial and a conventional language of some sort, suitable to its own organization, and consequently different from that of others; and this is conformable to the whole course of nature.

The higher brutes already by certain internal emotions are made in certain external muscles to produce movements, in their turn again productive of sounds and cries, by which these emotions are vented and expressed. Each species of animal, according to its different organization, has a different mode of expressing similar emotions.

But all these emotions of brutes, still only alike proceeding from mere concrete wishes or fears

in their minds, still suggest to them no idea of expressing these feelings by artificial and conventional sounds of an articulate sort. Their natural cries suffice to make them understood.

Man himself also still, like the brute, begins by only having his concrete feelings of content and suffering, desire and apprehension, which, like the brute, he vents and expresses by inarticulate sounds of laughter, weeping, sobbing, sighing, growling, groaning and grunting.

But man, moreover, alone has ideas, desires and repugnances of an abstract nature, to obtain the gratification of which he wants the concurrence of other individuals of his species, which his mere natural cries cannot render intelligible to them, and which he nevertheless must wish to communicate, and to render comprehensible to them.

Every man then, beginning as much of the action he wishes to perform as he can singly, by using significant gesture and pantomime, by accompanying the same by the particular sounds and cries which his emotions and eagerness would prompt, and by thus always using the same sounds when the same desires agitated him, would at last by the mere uttering of these sounds, these cries, render his desires, his intentions intelligible, even without the corresponding actions, gestures and pantomime, and thus would, to cries uttered without intention, be added sounds uttered with the express in-

tention of having them understood, and which are called words. Particular sounds, thus rendered more distinct and articulate by art, on the one side uttered for particular purposes, and on the other side understood as meaning those peculiar purposes, would thus become the conventional signs for representing them, and between certain individuals a certain artificial and conventional oral and articulate language would thus be by degrees established. In each different race, according as its natural organization, and the natural cries prompted by the same differed, this artificial and conventional language, first originating in these natural sounds, and founded on their base, would also be different. But in individuals of the same race and similarly organized, the earliest artificial and conventional sounds, arising from and intended to express wants and ideas very simple, and very little removed from the mere concrete feelings still vented by mere cries, would still remain confined to those simple combinations of vowels and consonants, which remain monosyllabic, or by eagerness only are repeated, such as those of *mama*, *baba*, *papa*, *dada*, *tata*, *caca*, which still are under various simple significations used by and to infants of all the higher races, similarly organized.

Thus was, probably prior to any other art, and first only for the purpose of expressing the mere feelings of nature more distinctly and pointedly,

among every race of human individuals, invented an artificial and conventional articulate language, conformable to the peculiar organization of the race, and undoubtedly in some races more distinctly articulated than in others; which afterwards became the auxiliary and the representative, not only of the feelings of nature, but of the inventions of every other art and science; and which with the discoveries of new modifications of nature, and with new inventions of art, had its signs representative of these increased and developed.

That in each race of human beings, different and distinct from others in its organization, the language was also first distinct and different, appears proved by those races in Asia, Africa and America, which still remain nearest a state of mere nature—which still have made least progress in civilization—having not only the fewest words, the most restricted language, but, however few be the individuals of which these tribes are composed, and however near to them may be the other tribes different from their own, still each having a language most different from that of the neighbouring tribe, and most unintelligible to that neighbouring tribe.

Of these men, still possessed only of inferior organizations, some have languages resembling the sibilations of a serpent, others, words resembling the croakings of a frog, others, sounds

similar to the cacklings of a goose, or the chatterings of a monkey. Even higher nations, and whose languages have acquired a greater similarity as to form, still preserve in them the distinct national thorough base of a peculiar lisp or brogue, nasal or guttural sound, which preceded the assimilation of their artificial languages to each other, and which, proceeding from their natural organization, continues to predominate. Such differences of tone and terminations we find in the languages still spoken by the Piedmontese, Genoese, Milanese, Venetians, Lombards, Tuscans, Romans, and Neapolitans one way, and by the Provençals, Spaniards and Portuguese the other way; though all alike present idioms of that original Italian, Gallic or Celtic languages, of which the Latin itself was only a later, more partial and more shortlived remodification, remixed with the loftier Greek.

Each different race, first by new wants, new desires, new observations on nature, and new inventions of art of its own, made to increase and to vary its own peculiar language, as it more extended and came more in contact with other races, also, by borrowing from these other races more things and more ideas, and by lending to these other races more things and more ideas of their own, with these adopted, gave and exchanged, more of the terms representing them, and by this means the language of each indi-



vidually, originally most different from that of the others, and most poor, though its base might remain different, became in its later superstructure richer, more copious and more similar to that of the other; in the same way that stuffs, originally in their texture homely but different, may by subsequent similarity of embroidery have their difference glossed over, and be made to become at once more rich and more resembling each other. Invasion and conquest, by spreading certain of these languages, while it subdued and extirpated others, would still increase this similarity, and by degrees a few languages would preponderate.

Thus it was that already in early times certain languages began to prevail over the rest; that the ancient pahlavi of Persia has produced the similarities to it, found in the more eastern Sanscrit, the more northern Teutonic, and the more western Celtic. Thus, of the Celtic, Keltick, Gallic, or Wallick stock, the different ramifications have again composed the similarities found in the Greek, Roman, Italian romance, French, Spanish and Portuguese languages, in the *langue d'oc* and the *langue d'oïl*, in the Walloon of the Netherlands and Germany, in the Welsh of Wales and of Cornwall, in the British of Britany, both on the continental and on the insular side of the British channel, and in the Gallic or Gaelic of Scotland and of Ireland; throughout

all the intermediate regions, beginning from Galatia in Asia Minor, to Galicia in Spain, and the Gallic regions of England, Scotland and Ireland. Afterwards the idiom of the Celtic or Gallic races was again in most parts of Britain, and in many parts of Gaul, superseded by that of the Teutones, called in England, from the more particular denomination of the Teutonic race which conquered the country, English, and called in Gaul, from the more peculiar political organization of the Teutonic tribes by which the region was subdued, Frank or François, the name which even a circle in Germany still bears.

Thus the idioms of the Teutonic races have not only prevailed in Germany, in Sweden, in Norway and in Denmark; have not only with the ancient Celtic, and with the more modern French, been engrafted on the original tongue of Great Britain; but have with the Gothic tribes made considerable inroads in parts of Spain.

And thus, finally, did the Slavonic languages of Russia, Poland, Bohemia, Slavonia, Illyria and Dalmatia, from the White sea to the Black, almost become the same.

Various languages which first have their infancy, their growth, their development, their state of flourishing, of maturity and of fructification, also again, with the races that spoke them, and the other arts by these nations introduced and cultivated, have their decline and

their death. Many, even after their spirit has evaporated, still preserve their outward form and construction. After a language was disused among the nation at large, it still often by the priesthood, for peculiar purposes of a religious nature, which they wished to preserve from becoming too familiar, or by the learned, in view of the excellencies of the works embodied in it, continued to be occasionally used, though but imperfectly understood; and sometimes it became, like the Syriac, wholly unintelligible. Such is now partly the case with the ancient Greek, and even with the Latin, by the pride of the Roman patricians, in order to possess a language different from, and more lofty than that of the plebeians, artificially on its ruder Italian basis raised, and dignified by a Greek embroidery; but which has, except in the works of ancient authors, and in the ritual of the Roman church, again fallen into disuse.

Every language would at first only express the more obvious physical phenomena. At first, when it was wanted to express metaphysical modifications, it was obliged to borrow its terms from those employed to stand for the former. Thus in early works the Almighty is made to ride on the storm; his features are ruffled by wrath; he displays the movements, has the feelings, and performs the actions of man. By degrees people would form distinct expressions for

intellectual phenomena, and then the former ones, when they continued to be thus applied, received the name of allegorical, figurative and symbolical; and by giving a double sense to ideas, and by making the same words express a twofold meaning, were supposed, from originally being a symptom of poverty, to become a sign of wealth, and were allowed to enrich the language, and to render it ornamental.

## CHAPTER XVI.

*Language representing things no longer to the ear, but, at second hand, to the eye ; no longer spoken, but written.*

SOUNDS rapidly produced as rapidly evanesce. Those representations of ideas which they alone afford, unless caught up while dropping from the lips by the attentive listener, reach not the mind of the latter. Those uttered by a single individual can only be made to reach a confined circle of other individuals, immediately surrounding that first. Through the medium of these they must again be repeated, before they can be transmitted through further time and space to circles wider and more numerous, and in thus being diffused they risk having not only their spirit evaporated, but their very meaning perverted in the journey. Never can we be sure that words transmitted through many lips, ideas received at a distance from their original source, still remain a faithful representation of those which their first authors are said to have uttered. After a certain time and space, at a certain distance from their first origin, and

through a certain number of intervening links, all oral tradition, from errors, from ignorance, from prejudice, from infidelity of the transmitters, becomes doubtful. A single word misquoted; a single change of an affirmative into a negative; of a question into an answer: a single mistake, a single want of memory, a single forgetfulness, in any one of the individuals that form the intervening links; a single link in the long chain of successive vouchers, necessary to a tradition reaching from remote times and places, less firm, less solid, less to be depended upon than the remainder, will infirm the evidence: and thus of many of the greatest events of early periods the memory has been lost, or has been burthened by accounts so evidently contradictory and fabulous, as to have become entirely unworthy of credence.

Nor are these the only drawbacks upon oral tradition. Whatever through this fallacious channel is communicated, must by its first author be divulged to all the intermediate individuals, through means of which alone he can transmit the intelligence to the persons and places more distant, for whom it is intended. The lowest menial who carries a royal mandate orally delivered, and to the most distant satrap, on the most important subject, must from the very outset be entrusted with its whole secret. It is entirely at his mercy. His indiscretion may be as

dangerous as his forgetfulness. No intelligence can, during any part of the time and space intermediate between its giving by one person, and its reception by another distant person, remain concealed and undivulged: can rest a mystery, till it reaches the place for which it is expressly destined.

It thus soon was felt desirable to invent, in addition to the mode of communicating ideas and wishes through sounds widely proclaimed, and yet fugitive and uncertain, some mode of conveying intelligence less loud and yet more lasting.

The first method that occurred was through means of imitations of things wanted, visible to the eye, such as painting and sculpture can afford; and the production of such symbolic representations were no doubt long and in many countries among the first purposes of necessity and utility, which promoted the cultivation of the imitative arts. Of this mode of expressing thoughts we still find remains on the monuments, and on the papyri, of the ancient Egyptians, on the tablets of the ancient Mexicans, and in the manuscript characters of the Chinese.

These symbolic characters having no reference to the sounds of spoken words, but directly imitating the forms represented by these words, may remain similar, even where the spoken language is different; and this, in fact, happens to be the

case in many provinces of China, where the conventional and representative spoken languages are different, but where the unconventional and imitative written language is the same.

But soon it was found that mere symbolic representations were long and tedious in the production, and were, after all, when produced inadequate in their power of conveying a definite meaning: that they are singly able only to represent even of physical modifications the mere stationary forms, not the movements, not the changes: that they can singly only represent these very forms as they are in a single individual point of time, not as they become in their successive developments in time and in space: above all, that they have no power whatever of representing modifications merely intellectual, destitute of visible form: no wills, no desires, no aversions, no intentions, no plans, except by still adding to them the auxiliary and circuitous means of oral traditions, which must even then, after a time, leave their meaning doubtful, or render it a perfect riddle.

Of the symbolical signs of the ancient Egyptians, the sense is entirely lost, and of the complex characters of the Chinese, the number is so multiplied, that a perfect knowledge of them requires the labour of a man's life. In China, a man who knows his alphabet is really a man of letters.



At last it occurred, firstly, it is said, to the Phœnicians, that the simplest elements of the various sounds, which are combined in the various words that represent things, and the ideas concerning them, to the ear, and which in themselves are but few, and derive their variety and number only from their combination, might themselves, in their turn, be by visible signs as few and simple, readily again at second-hand represented to the eye. This was done, and thus was invented a visible alphabet. Thus were formed written and visible letters and words; and these words fulfilled all the purposes of durability in time, transmissibility in space, and others, which mere spoken words wanted. Nay the same written letters, the same alphabet, might, of languages very different, but whose elementary sounds were the same, represent the words. Such were the advantages of writing, that in most countries it caused symbolic characters to be abandoned. By the Egyptian priesthood, their use was only retained under the name of hieroglyphics, or sacred writing, to embody facts, of which they wished as much to withhold the knowledge from the vulgar, as among themselves to retain and perpetuate the memory.

First, writing was only from beginning to end executed by hand: of each collection of ideas, each single manuscript relation still, from be-

ginning to end, required a distinct operation, and writing to a certain degree, in the slowness of the operation, and in the small number of those that could simultaneously, by a single written copy of a work, gain the communication of the ideas it contained, lost as much one way as it gained the other by the durability of these copies. Later, much later, the invention of printing, and still later that of stereotype, by enabling the embodying of ideas in visible words to be performed with greater rapidity, have enabled ideas to be transmitted and diffused almost with the speed of lightning.

## CHAPTER XVII.

*Other modes of representation, arithmetic, algebra, money, coin, drafts, bank-notes, &c.*

WE have seen the invention of signs representative of external things in general, and of the ideas concerning such, called oral language. We have seen spoken language again in its turn represented by written language. To these signs the want of representing numbers in particular, by figures still more concise and clear even than those of words, caused the addition of numerical characters; and the want of representing quantities, by other signs still more concise and clear than those of words, caused the addition of algebraic signs.

As with the increase and diffusion of individuals, the productions of nature by these individuals possessed, the objects of art by these produced, the labour wanted for the production of new objects of art, and the exchanges and barter of such objects and such labour as were by each wanted, and by each offered for an adequate consideration, also increased in number, variety,

diffusion and distance from each other ; as the individuals that wanted goods and services from others, and those from whom others wanted goods and services, were more numerous, more distant and more different ; as consequently more time, more space, more movement, more labour, more division and subdivision and adjustment of articles were required ; more loss even, more deterioration, more decay of commodities was incurred, before each person could be satisfied, people soon began to want for the value of each production of nature or art, and of the labour of producing each, a representative sign, which might more easily and rapidly be transferred, might be preserved while the goods of which it was agreed to represent the value were not on the spot, or not wanted, and which, at any time and in any place where these goods were present and were wanted, might again at second hand in quantities proportionate to their value be for them exchanged.

And in different countries different objects and substances were agreed upon, and made to receive this power of representing the value of other productions, and of labour ; and were in the capacity of possessing this power called money.

In some regions the character of money was given to certain shells called cowries, scarce

enough to require some labour to find them, and so small as to be made easily, by increasing their numbers, to represent different values.

But in other countries certain metals more rare, more ductile, more dividable in the smallest aggregates, and more easily collected in the largest masses—consequently more admitting of being in their quantities exactly proportioned to the value of the commodity they were made to represent—at the same time more imperishable,—were rendered the representative sign,—the circulating medium—that was to be admitted as representing the value of all other substances, goods and labour. First pieces of metal were only exchanged against goods according to their quantity and weight: but where individuals had in their rulers sufficient confidence, they trusted in the value which the coin of the sovereign certified the different pieces of metal to bear, and goods and labour were thenceforth valued according to the money they would fetch, and were no longer directly exchanged, but bought and sold: or, if the bargain was for a definite term, let and hired. Yet, as certain articles, or as the money that represents them are more abundant or scarce, as people have more or less of certain goods, in proportion to others who want them, and as these other people can afford to give more or less money for these goods, will different goods rise or fall in price.

When money can only conveniently be procured at periods and in places more distant, but can ultimately be procured, in order to gain time and to save space, it has been contrived again, in the meanwhile, and pro tempore, to represent this money by drafts, by checks, by bank-notes, which however are only considered as having a transient value, and that only, where the money, or the money's worth, are regarded as ultimately capable and sure to come forth.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Representative government.—Control over the representants.*

EACH community of which the various members have, by a compact express or tacit with each other—by a proclaimed agreement, or by the silent yielding of each individually to the common will manifested by the remainder—consented that each should no longer individually directly and in person be held to do all that is agreed upon for the common good and welfare,—each community of which the government is no longer wholly and purely democratic; of which each member no longer, in person meeting all the others in a general assembly, is singly in his turn ruler and ruled; of which the members, in view of their numbers, their distance from each other, of the extent and nature of the country they inhabit, the difficulty they find in all meeting, the greater loss some individually experience than others from all concurring alike to rule and be ruled, or of other motives, consent that certain measures required for the general public good and

welfare should be decreed and executed only through the medium of a smaller number of individuals, chosen by and deputed from the mass of the community at large to represent the rest, and to attend to its benefit—whether the community be, in respect of the measures beneficial to all, ruled in a patriarchal form by the head of the family or by the chief of the tribe, whether it has a federal form of government, in which the interests and measures of smaller masses of the population, and smaller divisions of the state, are separately, in different localities more proximate, by men better informed of and more directly concerned in their peculiar individual interests, more immediately directed, before measures more generally interesting the whole are at a greater distance transacted and decreed by a more general senate of deputies from all those lesser circles, or whether it has only a single general assembly of delegates from all the different parts of the commonwealth, in which all that concerns its utmost extremities and divisions is directly transacted: whether the deputies have from their constituents received less or greater authority and power jointly to rule them; and whether this power be delegated to them for a shorter or for a longer period, or indefinitely; whether the deputies from each portion of the community or state be many, or few, or only a single individual; whether they be called by the



name of deputy, representative officer, minister, lieutenant, governor, satrap, pacha, protector, president, prince, king, monarch, dictator, emperor or despot, is already a community in some degree subject to a representative government. The fountain head of all authority, which lies originally in the assembly and mass of all those that have concurred in a compact to defend and protect each other, and to concert together measures for common security, defence and advantage, has already in that community to a certain degree expressly or tacitly delegated the exercise of a certain portion of that authority to—has already caused itself to be in the exercise thereof represented by—a smaller portion of its members: and the smaller the representative portion is in its proportion to the whole, and the greater the power delegated to that smaller portion, the more eminently the government becomes representative.

The difference only lies in the number of those, to whom the power and authority, inherent in the general mass, has been delegated; in the degree and sort of authority given them over the remainder, in the period for which this power is lent them, and in the means afforded them of exerting and of maintaining it.

Where the community has established a distinct standing army for its defence and protection, and of that standing army has confided

the command to its ruler, he still only legitimately exercises that command in his character as representative of the nation at large ; and is supposed to do so only for the good, the protection, the defence of the nation.

States too small in proportion to other neighbouring states to be enabled to balance, to resist the power of these latter, while separate from them, and thus risking by that separation to be sacrificed to the individual advantage of these latter greater states, must gain by being united with them under one head, interested in balancing and forwarding the common good of all, and able from his power, and from the size of his dominions, more extensively to promote that good. The individual vanity of the members of those larger communities will thereby be less gratified, but their common security and interests will be better attended to. Again, in states too large, unwieldy, straggling and ill cemented together in their different component parts to have all these parts, from one single centre of authority ruled with that knowledge of and that regard to their separate interests, that impartiality and that firmness, which ensure the equal good and welfare of all—in which the advantage of lesser distant districts is often disregarded and sacrificed to that of the parts nearer the fountain head of power—in which even the best and wisest measures, originating in the central seat of power, can often

only with great loss of time and feebly be enforced at the extremities, the distant and disconnected parts had better, for their own advantage and security, separate from that centre, and each form a distinct head and seat of government, from which it may be more proximately ruled with more sagacity, impartiality and firmness. Indeed, like every thing in nature, of which the component parts are only held together by a tie too weak to sustain their weight, such a state must inevitably sooner or later fall to pieces.

As I have already observed, while the representative of the community at large is both intelligent and well intentioned, the more he is trusted—the more power is confided to his hands—and the more he can, without impediment or control, decree and execute measures necessary for the good of all.

But the greater also becomes the risk that, when his judgment or his will becomes perverted, he may sacrifice the good of others which he has engaged to promote, to his own individual advantage: that he may employ the power which the people at large has given him for its common good, against that very people for his own private advantage: that he may use the superior means he possesses in gaining over the armed force, of which the nation has confided to him the command, only for the purpose of protecting that

nation, to forward his private views, and make it assist him in oppressing the people.

It is true, that when the people begin to feel the weight of this oppression too sorely and too generally, they will resist the same, revoke the power it lent; and the more despotic the ruler, the more he stands alone, the less he is supported by other intervening powers, interposed between himself and the people at large, the more, on forfeiting the good-will of the nation, he has to dread from its revenge. In Russia and in Turkey the despot, when he becomes generally unpopular, is forthwith dethroned and murdered.

Still he may take his chance, and often do much mischief where the resistance to his power is thus ill organized, and is itself by great subdivision much weakened.

But in many states where great power has been given the ruler for good purposes, this power has again been submitted to a certain control and a certain responsibility more legal and better organized. Such control already even in Turkey exists in the hands of the ulema. In other countries it exists in the ministers intervening between the sovereign and the bulk of the people, and responsible to the latter for the actions of the former.

There are countries where this control is produced by the change of the representatives themselves; where this change is so rapid as soon

again to divest them of their power, and render them amenable to the laws, when they have misused it: where the great number of these representatives leaves each individually only a small fraction of power.

It is true, that this rapid rotation, which submits every minister to a frequent apprenticeship, from which the public can derive little benefit; that this very control too much subdivided, which causes a constant friction and resistance, by clogging the wheels of government even when they work for good, may itself do much mischief; but such is the original imperfection of man, that whatever is formed of human materials must have its good mixed with evil.

## CHAPTER XIX.

*Division of public and reciprocal obligations,  
duties, and labours.*

WE have already seen that in early times and small communities, which only contained few members, each singly exercised private pursuits and professions very different and very opposite: that often the same man was fisher and hunter, shepherd and tiller, artisan and manufacturer, raiser of his own produce and trader in that of other people: and that as later the number of men increased, and with them the number and variety of productions and professions, each individual more confined himself to a single pursuit; and professions became more divided among different individuals: people became more exclusively fishers or hunters, shepherds or agriculturists, artisans or manufacturers, producers or tradesmen.

It fares the same with avocations and duties that concern the public at large, as with those of a private nature. In early times and infant communities, which had not a population sufficiently numerous to afford different individuals for each different public duty, the same individual still

often in turns performed public offices of a most different nature. Not only the same man was in turns citizen and soldier, ruler and ruled, but priest and warrior, maker of laws and executor of those laws. It was not uncommon for the sovereign to be the public hangman ; and to this day, in the state called Barbaresque, the pacha still often makes it his own especial business to execute the verdict of the judge.

By degrees, states increased and became more populous : as on the one hand each public office singly required a longer apprenticeship, and took up more of a man's time, and as on the other hand there arose more individuals, ready for certain considerations to sacrifice their private interests and to submit to the trouble of these public avocations, each man more devoted himself exclusively to some public office in particular, and left other professions more to other men.

Not only men of quiet and industrious habits found means to devote themselves more exclusively to the arts of peace and production, by sacrificing part of what they earned by these arts, in order to induce other men, younger, idler, more active and more daring than themselves, to devote their time more exclusively to the arts of war and of defence, for the safety of all, so as thenceforth to render the profession of soldiers entirely distinct from that of citizen ; but the receipt and the employment of the contri-

butions of individuals to the expenses necessary for the public weal, the administration of the laws, that of the public worship, and that of many other distinct branches of public obligations, were each, for adequate considerations, undertaken by different individuals, no longer performing these duties gratuitously, as what they owed each other and the state for the security, protection, and other advantages which they derived from their fellow-citizens and from the community at large, but with a sufficient trouble and sacrifice of their private interest, to be thought entitled to receive in return, from that public, an adequate remuneration, under the name of salary.



## CHAPTER XX.

*Religion. Worship.*

IT is impossible for man to look round and not by degrees to recognise that he himself and all else around him which he witnesses, is subject to some higher invisible power, by which it is controlled : but being in his primitive state of nudity, privation and suffering, more forcibly struck by the accidental and sudden ills of existence, than by its regular, uniform and gradual goods—by thunder and lightning, by the storm and the tempest, and the other means and modes of rapid and violent destruction, than by the smooth and even current of gradual growth and development—man would begin by dreading powers of evil, before he proceeded to recognise, and to look up to powers of good. He would every where seek to avert the ire of demons, before he endeavoured to gain the good-will of angels.

Every where alike on this globe, the first worship was a worship of fear only. Every where a dread of evil preceded a worship of love. Every where the Deity was first supposed to thirst after

blood; to be placable only by sanguinary offerings; to consent only to spare the threatened supplicator on condition of his finding some other victim to be immolated in his place, before God was acknowledged as only desiring charity and good-will between man and man, for the sake of equal welfare to all.

In the struggle and competition for preference in the divine favour by acts of bloodshed, as in every other struggle, the strong and the mighty naturally had the advantage, and the weak and defenceless—the woman and the babe—the humble and the captive—fared the worse, were the beings sacrificed. It even became an idea carefully cherished and propagated by those who, being mightiest, led public opinion like every thing else, that the more innocent and pure the victim, the more acceptable to the Deity became the sacrifice. Thus did the evil-minded make the good atone for their sins.

Human sacrifices, and particularly those of virgins and infants, have in early ages prevailed over every part of the old and the new world. Agamemnon was commanded to immolate his daughter Iphigenia. Abraham was directed to offer up his son Isaac. Later, the children of Israel were made, as well as those of the heathens, to pass through the fire of Moloch. Long after human sacrifice had been abandoned, those of brutes—of cattle—still continued to ensan-

guine the altars, and to sate the pretended appetites of the gods for blood, in order to make the powerful among men fare more daintily and plentifully. It was late, indeed, before the instructors of mankind acknowledged that the only sacrifice the Deity required of man, was that of his evil passions.

By degrees man began to discover that with the ills of life were mixed some goods. He began to suspect that the rulers of this globe were not all demons; that the power of evil spirits was at least balanced by that of good genii. Still would for a time the struggle continue to be carried on between them: still would, during a long period, the host of heaven be supposed occasionally to have their beneficent views thwarted by the powers of hell. Ahriman would still contend on equal terms with Ormuzd; Typhon with Osiris; the giants, sprung from earth, with the gods of Olympus; Satan with Jehovah.

Men would still long, in their reluctance to give up the evil propensities of their heart, try to soothe and conciliate the powers of darkness, and to obtain from these, through bribes, what they had no hopes of more legitimately earning from the powers of light—what they durst not ask from these latter. Even when they already had begun to place their chief reliance on more beneficent gods, they would still think it neces-

sary, or at least prudent, to avert the malice of demons by exorcisms and conjurations. A great part of the religious rites of the ancient magi of Persia, from them to this day called magic, were intended as much to deprecate the ire of the demons as to gain the favour of the gods.

Only at a later period, when man became better acquainted with the course of nature, did he recognise that all the evils, physical and moral, prevailing on this globe, were the direct and inevitable consequences of its peculiar situation in the universe: that they were the effects only of an ordination by which unmixed good was only to be attained in another and higher globe, to which this globe was only a stepping-stone, and where that good would only be felt the more, from its contrast with the present evil. Only at a later period was Satan, as a definite, tangible entity, distinct from and hostile to God, supposed to be for ever subdued, and sent back to, and chained down in that hell, from whence he had been said to come.

Yet was God himself, from ancient habit, still for a time occasionally made a God of wrath. The writings of Moses still continue to clothe him in thunder, to furrow his forehead with frowns, to make him visit the sins of the fathers on their children even to the third generation. The Jews, who considered themselves as God's favourite nation, as by pre-eminence his children,

justified the cruelties they committed in the countries they wrested from other nations, by his express commands; and only our Saviour, at last, preached a different doctrine, and, in the name of the Father of all, enjoined charity and good-will toward men of every denomination.

It is difficult for man in his primitive state of ignorance, even when he begins to recognise a superhuman control, to recognise that control as residing in an entity which itself, as the first cause of all matter, can have nothing in common with any of the attributes of that matter by it created, or even of that mind which, as we have seen, is itself only a later and more partial modification and development of matter.

Nations, already in natural intellect and in cultivation very superior to those that only made their deities monsters and bugbears, still at first believed in a certain number of gods distinct from each other, dividing with each other the control over the different processes of nature, and influencing the feelings and actions of man. They still considered these deities as possessed of a corporeal form, and indeed considered the form of man as only created after the image of that of the gods; and Prometheus, one of these gods themselves, as having incurred the ill-will of the others, and of Jove their chief, by his surreptitious imitation of the divine type. Even

Moses, though intent in the main upon doing away the idea of God's having a corporeal form, and wishing to inculcate the idea of God's immateriality, still constantly describes the Deity as endued with human forms, as well as human feelings, and indeed, as having created man after his image, one does not know why, except he should mean that the angry feelings of man resemble those which he sometimes attributes to Jehovah.

Still was, in the opinion of the most sensible idolaters, the form of man only a very diminutive miniature copy of the stature of the gods. Homer makes Neptune, at single stride, compass the Egean Sea; Minerva, with her single helmet, cover fifty cities.

The Greeks, in order to produce of the supposed forms and dimensions of their gods a livelier impression, wrought of these fictitious gods real images, as colossal as they fancied the originals; and, with the view the more to favour the illusion, built round those images temples, in which they only allowed them to be seen through the medium of a light which, leaving all else around in darkness, fell concentrated on their figures alone; and which moreover had, in addition to the forms, all the colours imitative of those of nature, capable of diffusing over them the glow and animation of life.

While deities were supposed in their form

and disposition so strongly to resemble human beings, it was not unnatural to suppose that among their worshippers they should have had especial favourites; men whom they suffered not merely to behold their portraits; whom they would sometimes honour with a view of the originals, though on a scale so far reduced from that which they usually bore in Olympus, as not to overpower them by their presence. Homer constantly represents his gods as conversing with his heroes, under the assumed form of some of their earthly friends; though Jupiter, forgetting this precaution, and appearing to Semele in all his glory, annihilated her at once.

The immaterial God of Moses could no longer, as such, consistently confer with man face to face: but he still communicated with certain peculiar individuals more directly, through the medium of superhuman messengers called angels. Not only the word *αγγελοι* in Greek, but Moloch in Hebrew, and Melek in Arabic, literally only signified messenger.

When we read in Scripture of angels, we figure to ourselves beings of miraculous beauty, furnished with splendid wings, wafting their aerial bodies from the heavens; and we consequently are rather surprised at the little sensation of astonishment their sudden appearance seems to occasion in those men to whom they are sent. The truth is, that, like the gods of the Greeks,

they are only described as appearing to man stripped of their distinctive insignia—as ordinary wayfarers ; and seem only to have been recognisable in their superhuman character, if at all, by the nature of the tidings with which they are fraught.

Thence it was that, in days of ignorance, strangers from distant countries, fraught with superior knowledge, might often easily avail themselves of their incognito to assume among the Greeks the character of gods, and even, among the Jews, that of messengers of the Deity—or at least of men specially inspired by God with the foresight of events to come,—of seers ; of prophets. Every day, in Jerusalem, started up individuals who pretended to possess the gift of predicting the future, or who even honestly believed those dreams and visions, which perhaps they only owed to a disordered stomach, to be inspirations from on high. But by degrees men, by greater information rendered more cautious, learnt later how to distinguish false miracles from true prophecies.

While some people sought the gods which they supposed to rule the destinies of man near the earth, others only found the ruling powers in the most distant regions of the heavens.

It was difficult, in countries where the sun's beneficial influence over this globe was constantly felt, in ages of ignorance, not to regard



that celestial orb, so strongly connected with the fate of man, as itself the ruling deity, rather than a later and more partial effect only of the almighty first cause. In those finer climes, indeed, where the greater purity of the atmosphere leaves not only the sun but the moon and the stars their utmost brilliancy, and where man is often driven by the heat to spend his nights on the terraced roof of his habitation, in contemplation of a glorious firmament, these latter bodies too would, by the regularity of their movements, come in for their share of man's veneration, and seem, when the sun disappeared from the horizon, to be his vice-regents.

Thence would, in many countries, the heavenly bodies—the sun, moon, and stars—first themselves be worshipped as deities. Sabeism is one of the oldest and most primitive of creeds; and terraces or lofty precincts, destitute of roofs or coverings, were among the most ancient of temples.

Of such a sort was the stupendous tower erected on the banks of the Euphrates, in that city whose name, composed of that of bab or gate, and that of bel or the sun, in the Assyrian dialect was derived from, and signified the approaches of the temple to that deity, which was in it the chief object of worship: of such a description is the roofless temple that still subsists on the site of Persepolis.

In these edifices the sacred fire, offspring and

emblem of the sun, from which it was directly drawn, and sometimes also, those atmospheric stones, regarded in early times as directly dropped from the sun, and often mentioned in sacred writ under the name of Bethyles, had their share of worship; and the sacred stone, so long venerated at Emesus in Syria, was by its highest priest, Heliogabalus, when elected Emperor of Rome, in great pomp transferred to the capital of the world. Previous, however, to this occurrence, the worship of the celestial fire, which originated in Persia, seems already, under the Persian name of Vesta, to have travelled with the sun as far westward as the utmost Celtic tribes, stopped in their further progress by the waves of the Atlantic. We find representations of Mythras even among the remains of ancient Gaul. It was when christianity spread its light over the globe, that the sun and moon began to be considered no longer as themselves ruling man's destiny, but only as, together with man himself, obeying the impulse of a first cause, earlier and more powerful than either. Then it was that astrology gave way to astronomy: that the movements of the stars became watched from high places, no longer as directly announcing the fate of man, but as proceeding from certain principles in nature, to which stars and men were equally subservient.

At first among nations among which arose a certain creed, that creed, like their other con-

quests over nature, was by them considered as their exclusive property. They were jealous of the privileges it promised: they grudged the intrusion of strangers into their own especial heaven. They feared it would not prove roomy enough for all. They wanted to keep strangers out. When unknown supplicants knocked at the gates of their temples, they were refused admittance: they were not even permitted to peep in at the door: all within was rendered an inscrutable mystery. Rather than run the risk of divulging the sacred rites to strangers, they consented to have these rites, and the offices of religion, confined to a small and select portion of their own nation. Among the Jews, only the Levites were permitted to penetrate in the holy of holies; among the Greeks, none but the initiated partook of the mysteries of Eleusis.

In later times, as opposite extremes ever precede the just medium, men were forced to adopt the prevailing creed of the land, whether they would or not. Bigots persecuted those who were dilatory in accepting their belief. In their excess of zeal for the conversion of heretics,—in their solicitude to save them from the fires of hell,—they doomed them on earth to the flames.

Only very late and partially have both extremes been avoided. Only very late and partially have men begun, on the one hand, to receive with open arms those whose eyes were

opened to truth, and yet, on the other, no longer to persecute those who still, without their fault, continued blind : no longer to treat as a fault what was only a misfortune. Some even presume to think that that blindness itself still leaves a chance of salvation, so those who still mistake their duties, perform conscientiously what they consider as such. They think that whatever may be a man's creed, he may, in the exercise of true charity, find a passport to heaven : they think that a religion cannot, on the whole, be bad in its principle and its consequences, which inculcates universal love, good-will, and good deeds ; which has for its object the welfare of man.

## CHAPTER XXI.

*Priesthood, priestcraft.*

AT first every man who had made himself a god, when he wanted to be spared an evil, or to be granted a boon, addressed his petitions in person to that god. He was his own priest, and when around him rose a family of which he remained the chief, he continued to offer up to his god the common supplications of its younger members, of which he was the representative. Where a certain number of families associated in choosing a common chief to manage their temporal affairs, this chief became likewise entrusted with their spiritual concerns; he was the principal mediator between them and their gods; their high-priest.

By degrees the contemplative and peaceful pursuits of the priesthood were judged incompatible with the active and warlike occupations of men, called upon to manage the affairs of the world, and were left to such among the community as, from the superior sanctity of their lives, were supposed to enjoy most favour with the gods, and to be most fit to intercede with

these in behalf of the remainder of mankind. They availed themselves of their high office to rule their constituents in the name of the deities whom they pretended to consult.

Where the stars were considered as those gods, or at least as by their movements more directly announcing their will, the science of astronomy, or rather of astrology, became the exclusive study of the priesthood; but this body used other means to increase its influence.

Men are subject to afflictions and scourges. Their crops are destroyed by deluges and conflagrations. Their cattle die of disease. They themselves are laid prostrate by plague and pestilence. At first these calamities, of which the natural causes are hidden from the vulgar, were attributed to supernatural agency—to the wrath of heaven. The removal of that wrath was not sought in medicine: the gods were to be placated. A double dose of blood was spilt to soothe their anger. By degrees the priest discovered that human means and medicaments were of use in the cure of complaints, but as long as possible they tried to monopolise the healing art, by pretending that medicine only acted under favour of the gods; and still made the dispensing that medicine their exclusive profession.

There are nervous complaints, such as epilepsy and convulsions, at once violent while

they last, and during their intermittance leaving no tangible trace. Of these the infliction appears to proceed more directly from superhuman causes, and the cure to be more directly within the province of the priest. More than other maladies they seem to elude human powers.

These remained last of all the exclusive property of the priesthood, and were only to be removed by exorcisms, or by prayers. I myself have witnessed at Naples the ceremony of expelling evil spirits, and, strange to say, they yielded for a time to the imprecations pronounced against them from the altar. Such is the power of the mind over nervous complaints.

As the same views influence men of the same profession in every part of the globe, the two most powerful engines of sway over the mind, hope and fear, were long monopolized by the priesthood all the world over. In India the Brahmins, in Persia the Magi, among the Egyptians the ministers of Osiris and of Isis, among the Greeks those of Apollo and Æsculapius, and among the Celtic nations the Druids for a long time remained the only physicians. The brazen serpent promised health alike in the deserts of Palestine, and in the groves of Attica, and every where the sick were carried to the porticos of the temples, to await their cure or their release.

In many countries moreover the priesthood,

in order to establish their power more firmly, ordained that children should follow the professions of their fathers. The division of the nation in casts, while it secured the priesthood for ever in the families that possessed it, in all the rest of the population extinguished every feeling of emulation, every hope of improvement in art and in science. Still this absurd and detrimental law prevailed alike among the Persians, the Assyrians, the Medes, the Egyptians, the Jews, and even the Celtic tribes. As among the former the Levites, among the latter the Druids alone exercised all the professions connected with the priesthood.

We have seen the use made by the priests of Egypt of their symbolic language, in closing the doors of knowledge as long as they could against the intrusion of the people at large. Even after, spite of their efforts, philosophy had begun to penetrate, they still continued as much as possible to stem its torrent, by dividing in two distinct branches the doctrine they taught. That of the earliest, most figurative and most extravagant description, remained under the name of esoteric the theme of general tuition. The more rational doctrine which made its way in despite of the priests, that of which they passed off the former as the type, but which, under the name of esoteric, they withheld from the vulgar as dangerous, and above its compre-



hension, they indeed made a merit of divulging to the more enlightened, from whom they could no longer withhold it, but under the seal only of a secrecy, guarded by the direst oaths and penalties.

At last science became sufficiently diffused to teach priests themselves, that their chief office consisted in reminding the people at large, of what in the bustle of worldly business men are too apt to forget, namely, that the practice of virtue is the surest road to happiness; and that their chief duty is setting the example of what they were called upon to preach.

## CHAPTER XXII.

*Love of metre and cadence.*

ALREADY the higher brutes are playful. They seem in infancy, by the mere exuberance of their spirits, propelled to actions which have no purpose but that of venting their effervescence. But in brutes these sports and gambols generally cease as soon as the real wants of the body are sufficient to employ all the activity of the mind. The playful kitten soon subsides in the demure watchful cat. The wild colt soon becomes a sulking horse. The frolicsome kid grows a grave bearded goat. The romping pig turns a grunting sow. The very elephant, full of fun while a baby, assumes, as he advances in age, the stateliness becoming his gigantic size. The very monkey alone continues his pranks with the sorrowful air of an animal who only performs them from an irresistible impulse, not from choice : and only domestic pets more pampered than usual continue all their lives to evince the vivacity of youth.

Man himself in a state of nature enjoys but a short period of careless mirth and hilarity. As soon as hunger begins to pinch, as he feels called upon to consider how he shall provide for the passing day, he finds in the occupation of hunting or fishing an ample vent for his spirits. When by dint of great toil his wants at last are satisfied, what he seeks is not relaxation but repose. Between his labour and his rest he has not leisure to laugh and be merry.

But man who has secured a sufficient sustenance can at times afford to throw off care. He feels his spirits sufficiently buoyant to want some pastime, for the sole purpose of venting their exuberance. The disposition to merriment shows itself as soon as from an earnest hurried gait, leading him to some direct object and purpose, he launches into some desultory hop, step and jump, only calculated to lift him from the ground.

His lightness and buoyancy of spirits then already push him on to incur, in chasing the wild beast, more toil and danger than ever he experienced in pursuing the prey wanted to appease his hunger, to sustain bare life. It makes him invent artificial sports and gambols to get rid of the fever of his limbs. It leads him to contrive new combinations of flavour, odour, sound and sight, no longer to gratify any want of the body,

but only to afford to the sense greater amusement and pleasure.

In animals the external forms are symmetrical. This causes even the movements by these forms involuntarily exhibited to become so likewise. Their gait is cadenced, their actions are measured, their very cries are rhythmic; but theirs is still only the rhythm of nature. The natural measure of their movements is not enhanced by art.

But of the organs of man, the spontaneous symmetry and correspondence, much more complex and crowded, cause the simplest movements of mere necessity already to be greatly facilitated by a certain artificial and intentional cadence. Where parts very numerous and very diversified are very close wedged, symmetry in their respective movements leaves each more room in its turn to act and exert its full force, unimpeded by the rest; and leaves each in turns, after its period of exertion, more fully to enjoy a period of complete rest.

Thence already blacksmiths in a forge naturally strike the hot iron in cadence. Sailors keep time in turning the capstan: boatmen raise their oars regularly; and common criers use a rhythm in crying their ware. They find it lighten their labour.

And not only artificial movements, performed

for some useful purpose, are carried on with more ease when performed in cadence, but artificial forms and combinations, composed in view of some advantage, generally answer better, when directed by a regard to symmetry. More is done in less time, and in less space, with less exertion and greater success.

Of a garden for use the different produce is easier raised, easier managed, easier calculated, easier collected: vegetation grows more speedily and in less room, when the compartments are regular.

Of a house the distribution is better, the construction easier, the firmness and durability greater, as the angles are more regular, the walls more upright and the ceilings more level.

And not only in proportion as movements are more metrical, as cries are more cadenced, as forms are more symmetrical, is the performance of them easier to the author, but the perception is also to the beholder more agreeable, more free from exertion, from labour, from fatigue and from pain.

In consequence of the impressions made by regulated modifications on the organs of the different senses being more free from inequalities and jolts; of their not falling on them in such unequal proportions; of their not weighing on some too much and on others too little; of their not overstraining some organs, while they leave

others void of exertion, but of their falling more equally on all, and giving each in turn a more exact measure of that alternate exertion and repose, necessary to afford pleasure, and to steer clear of fatigue and pain, they occasion a collective enjoyment much greater, and yet less alloyed by exhaustion.

Thence the preference we naturally feel for metrical movements, cadenced sounds and symmetric spectacles.

Already the babe at the breast finds more pleasure in being dandled or rocked regularly: in listening to a rhythmic see-saw, in being shown a symmetric object. Already the youth, in his listless moments drawing with his finger lines in the sand, mechanically draws these in symmetric order.

Every one knows the pleasure afforded the ear by melody and by song, nay by articulated words—by alliteration, by rhyme and by verse—even while all the merit still only lies in the mere sound; while that sound is void of sense.

Every one equally allows the delight afforded the eye by colour, forms and movements that have a correspondence of opposite parts. Every one agrees that even natural objects are handsomer to the eye in proportion as to their other merits they add that of greater symmetry.

No doubt a fine landscape, a glorious sunset, may already greatly delight the eye without any

symmetry: but how much greater the power of pleasing, the beauty, comprehended in a much less portion of space, presented by the forms and colours of a beautiful plant, an elegant flower, an insect, a bird, or beast, or above all a human being, in which we see at once regularity of outline, and grace of movements, united in the highest degree. From the view of this latter, we derive in all its perfection that contemplative pleasure which is the peculiar effect of beauty.

Nor does cadence and symmetry give superior pleasure to the sense alone. By the evidence it affords of forethought, of calculation, of a plan well formed and well digested in the mind of the artificer, even before the work is begun, it also affords superior pleasure to the mind of the beholder.

Thus it is, that in objects of art as of nature, cadence and symmetry increase their beauty and their power of pleasing, as long as to these charms have not been sacrificed other powers of pleasing, other beauties of an intellectual sort, even greater than those of rhythm, of symmetry themselves.

Though we admire in a garden or a picture a beautiful symmetry, we shall, perhaps, admire a garden or a picture still more, in which that symmetry has been sacrificed to the faithful imitation of a grand but unsymmetric scene of nature.

Men, moreover, found, that metrical movements and forms not only were easier executed by the performer, but made a stronger and more lasting impression on the beholders. As long, therefore, as writing remained unknown or little practised, intellectual performances were, for the sake of utility as well as of beauty, compressed in a metrical form. Homer's historical records and Hesiod's didactic works are both written in verse.

So much do the superior powers of pleasing, the superior beauties of metre and cadence, proceed from its peculiar correspondence with and suitability to the organization of man, that there hardly is a nation still so rude, so unimproved by nature, so little advanced in art, that has not already, in order to while away its leisure hours, invented some sort of dance, of song, of music, of verse and of poetry : who even does not, in daubing his body with grease or paint, show some regard to symmetry.

Imitation either of mere bodily modifications, or of intellectual phenomena, adds to the former species of beauty—to the former powers of pleasing—new beauties and new pleasures. Even of an object ugly or disagreeable in itself, the good imitation, in its capacity as giving the beholder employment for this mental faculty of comparison, and as affording him proof of the mental faculties of the performer, has already in



it great powers of pleasing, which it loses as soon as the imitation is mistaken for the original imitated itself; when it no longer can please more than that very original would have done.

The good imitation of an original in itself handsome and pleasing, is doubly pleasing, first from the nature of the original, and next, from the greater beauties which it offers as imitation. It is this charm, inherent in all imitation, that already causes most nations at all civilized to invent some sort of mask or mummery, some pantomime or drama, as well as some sort of sculpture and painting. The difference between the productions of art, unimitative and imitative, of the rudest nations, and the painting and sculpture, poetry and drama of the ancient Greeks, lies not in that of their origin. These are the same. It lies only in that of their development and splendour.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

*Society, morality.*

EVEN the brutes most gregarious, only attracted to each other by the impressions of the sense—the feel, the smell, the hearing, or the sight—still incapable of exerting over each other any attraction of the mind, have no society. Amid troops of their species each remains solitary. Man himself in a state of nature can hardly be called a social being. Approaching a female only in consequence of a sexual desire, again abandoning her as soon as his wants are satisfied, he has with her no intercourse of the mind. He feels not jealous of a successor in her affections. If the woman bears the fruits of her compliance, uncertain to whom she owes them, she transfers not to the child any affection felt for the father. She only loves her babe for its own services, in ridding her of a burdensome milk. When the physical wants which mutually attached to each other the mother and child subside, all further society between them ceases; each goes his separate way, as urged by separate wants, the mother to seek a new mate, the offspring in

search of more substantial food. Individuals of the same sex only exert over each other a power, not of attraction but of repulsion. Each fears, like the spider, to be devoured by the other. Man roams over the wide wastes of nature single, distrustful, and afraid of other men.

Later he may feel the want of some companion to assist him in attack and in defence. He finds it better to divide a prey, than to go without food. From such motives arose the companionships of Hercules and Lycas, of Theseus and Pirithous, Achilles and Patroclus, Orestes and Pylades, and others whom the Greeks have exalted into models of the most generous and disinterested friendships. With the increase of subsistence and of security, man's mind expanded. He then felt the want of social ties more extended. The brotherhoods of heroic ages were succeeded by a more general love of society, of conversation and of conviviality.

At first, the social compact only embraced duties which it was easy to define. I shall abstain from doing my neighbour certain injuries, provided he abstain with me from the like. I shall render him certain services, so he make me a similar return. But there are a thousand good offices which cannot be defined, still less be returned in kind: though they produce in the receiver a good-will, which makes him in return

render other services of far greater value. By degrees, the sense of the gain derived from this general good-will produces good breeding and politeness. When these proceed from pure benevolence of mind, pure wish to make others feel comfortable and happy, pure warmth of heart, they attain their perfection.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

*Sympathy.*

SYMPATHY exists not in brutes. They cannot even imagine each other's bodily sufferings: much less those of the mind. Even if they did, their imagination is not vivid enough to sympathize with these pains of others: to feel them as if they were their own. A sheep in health skips heedless over a wounded sheep. The gentlest dove pities not the dove who has lost his mate. Human beings themselves, while young, feel little sympathy. Children delight in tormenting brutes. Nay, among the lower orders, men grown up seldom acquire that fine feeling. They become sociable, they become friendly to those they love, but they feel no participation in the sufferings of indifferent persons. They encourage cruel sports, they flock to executions. There have even risen nations eminently civilized, which with all the polish of marble still retained all its hardness: of whom none yet conceived what we call humanity. Of the Romans, the rejoicings, the triumphs, began with the cold-blooded immolation of their most illustrious captives: their

very favourite games themselves were sanguinary. They delighted in slaughter: and the softer sex, the vestal virgin, was foremost in bestowing the applause. Terence's famous speech, "homo sum," or at least the sentiment, was borrowed from Menander. The Greeks were the first who raised an altar to Pity. Christianity has first built around it the temple, has first made man regard the vicissitudes of every other man as his own.

## CHAPTER XXV.

*Education.*

BRUTES have not imagination enough to conceive more than what their senses tell them outright. They feel consequently no curiosity yet, respecting things unknown. Man does, and curiosity concerning things trifling and not worth investigating in its turn begets love of science, or curiosity respecting things, of which the knowledge repays the trouble of acquiring it, and may directly answer the most important practical purposes.

Brutes, having no wish to acquire knowledge, can have no desire to impart any knowledge acquired to others; but human beings go on accumulating information, till they overflow with it; till they again feel a want to communicate to others that which they have acquired.

Thence, while nature in brutes, on every individual placed in similar circumstances, acts in the same way, and makes not the later individuals through more experience improve upon their predecessors, she makes, in the human species, the earlier individuals the receptacles of expe-

rience, through means of which the later ones may be made to set out in life with a stock of knowledge more easily acquired, more abundant, and able, with less pains and trouble, to produce a richer interest. Children, born to a greater capital than their fathers, may in every generation more increase their income. By means of education they may, without serving long apprenticeships, at once profit by what their fathers had only through dint of dear-bought experience first acquired.

And the pleasure of exerting influence over others, and particularly those we love, insures in all men, and particularly in parents, the inclination to advise and instruct their children.

Unfortunately children are not so ready to take advice as parents are to give it; nor is it even sure always to be good. Men are often by reason ill directed made to give bad examples, and to instil erroneous precepts. This already is the case in private education.

But, for the sake of improving youth more wholesale, men have established schools, where education, instead of remaining in the hands of the parents, interested in the morals as well as learning of their children, has been intrusted to venal strangers, who without any interest in, or affection for, their pupils, only perform their task for hire; and find no inducement in love for those under their tuition, to add to the benefit of their



lessons that of their example. To the flexible mind of youth these schools, in which the boy suffers in being estranged from his home, his parents, or what is worse, learns no longer to care for the privation of what nature ought to have rendered most delightful to them, often, instead of being promoters of virtue, only become seminaries of vice ; and men often at school only contract illiberal ideas and vices, which in after life the larger education of the world deems it a gain merely anew to unlearn, and to exchange, even for vices and for prejudices more liberal, and more adapted to society at large.

Thus takes place the insensible progress from nature to art, and from rudeness to civilization. This progress may long go on without interruption, before it has saturated every region with as much happiness as this world will hold. Violent checks and retrogradations may render this period still longer ; still render the ultimate term more distant. But it is physically in the list of possibilities that some time or other this globe may not afford room for further increase of the happiness which it abstractedly is capable of containing.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

*Virtue, vice, crime, morality, immorality, good and bad conscience, remorse, shame, modesty.*

WE name that consideration which makes us sacrifice what to ourselves or to others would be a source of pleasure, nearer but smaller, to what to ourselves or others would be a source of advantage and enjoyment, more distant but greater, a consideration of utility. We consult utility when we sacrifice the pleasure of a dainty but expensive feast, to the gratification of being able to go well clothed for a twelvemonth. As soon as we sacrifice our private pleasure or utility entirely in any thing to the well-being of the community at large, that act of utility is called an act of virtue. It is not because certain acts are virtuous and good, that they are expedient ; it is because they are expedient, are good, are calculated for the well-being of the community, are of a nature to promote its general interests, peace, security, well-being, that they are virtuous. Things which in one state of society may tend to promote its peace, its security, and may be considered virtuous, or indifferent, may

in another state of society produce discord, disturbance, disorganization, and may be reckoned vicious, criminal.

Brutes, though by instinct made to do what is immediately salutary to them, and to abstain from what is immediately detrimental to them, being incapable of entertaining abstract thoughts; cannot have any idea of utility or of detriment; they can as little have any idea of virtue as of vice. Whatever they desire for their private gratification, unless prevented, they do. It is fortunate for others that they only desire to do that which tends to their bodily gratification.

Human beings in a state of nature resemble brutes. Innocently, when themselves feel so inclined, and while still unprevented by others, they rob, they ravish, they murder; they do not think whether what they do be virtuous or vicious, laudable or criminal; nor, if they were told, would they care. They feel no scruples before they commit an act, tending to their gratification, nor are they, after having committed such an act, visited by any upbraidings of conscience. Why should they not please themselves when they can?

But human beings, when, to reap greater advantages from the sacrifice of more transient pleasures, they established expressly or tacitly a social compact, called the things conformable to its spirit, and tending to confirm the general

peace and well-being which it had in view, virtuous; as they called the things contrary to its spirit, and tending to disturb the general peace and welfare which it enforced, vicious, and when very heinous criminal.

Thus arose ideas of virtue and of vice; and as more acts were deemed deprecable, and calculated to disturb the civil compact, and the well-being of the society it had established, more things were called vicious and criminal; and as more acts were deemed desirable, and calculated to promote the existence and the views of the civil compact, and the peace and well-being of society, more acts were deemed virtuous.

At first only great ability, physical and mental, to defend the commonwealth against that aggression from individuals to which infant societies are constantly exposed—great bodily strength and great mental daring,—were alone called virtue. While woman was considered public property till a man made her his own; while he then only prevented others from enjoying her as being his peculiar appropriation; while he blamed not in others the wish to possess her, where the husband himself was disposed to lend or give her, continence was not yet, abstracted from the rights and feelings of a husband, reckoned in itself a virtue.

Later, not only strength and courage to maintain the social compact in war, but services rendered it in peace—patriotism and public spirit

—were considered as virtues; profligacy, as tending to disturb the peace of families, to disunite husband and wife, to render doubtful the claims of children to their parents' affection, were then also considered as vicious.

Still to the last, as on the one hand what is calculated to keep up the social contract, and the peace, happiness and security of the society by it established, is deemed virtue; and as on the other hand, what is calculated to disturb that civil compact, and the peace, happiness and security of the society by it established, is deemed vice or crime, it is plain that in different states of society, and with different social compacts, the same acts must be deemed more or less virtuous or vicious; and that often the very same thing which in one state of society is deemed indifferent, or even virtuous, in another state of society must be reckoned vicious or criminal. The ancient Persians deemed it laudable to marry their mothers; and if to prevent a town built of wood from being burnt down, a general law established that no man was to smoke a pipe in the street, contravening to this law would become highly criminal.

There are things which, though in the aggregate highly detrimental to society, individually seem so insignificant, and so difficult to define, that no express laws can be contrived to prohibit or to punish them. Those only called immoral

must be left to the estimation and the punishment of society at large, and they will in general, by society at large withholding its good-will and its services from those guilty of them, at last be punished more certainly and more severely than those deeds only threatened with express penalties.

People have said that there was in our hearts a conscience, which told us what was intrinsically good or bad, and upbraided us for doing what was bad. Nothing seems intrinsically good or bad. The Indians under certain circumstances even applauded parricide. Every thing is only deemed good or bad as circumstances make it. Conscience thus is only the later effect of the estimation in which our deeds are held; of the applause or reprobation they are calculated to inspire. Not only the same thing will sit heavier or lighter on our conscience, as it is less or more tender and timorous; but the thing which in one state of society will cause its depression, in another will cause its exultation.

It fares with shame as with remorse. The savage feels none. The civilized man feels none while alone, for what he feels ashamed of before others. It is not the thing he does, but the opinion he occasions of himself in others for doing the thing, or for doing it before them, which he fears. Perfect innocence feels neither remorse nor shame. Modesty is a fruit of civilization.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

*Nature and causes of evil.*

I HAVE carried my general contemplation of the developments, natural and artificial, of this globe to the utmost height at which they were calculated to produce good, benefit and happiness, and to obviate evil, detriment and suffering. I have not yet extended my view to any of the by-paths through which modifications were made to lead to evil, detriment and suffering.

What, may some ask, is evil, detriment? Evil is that which prepares the way to suffering. An earthquake, a thunder storm, which cause certain sentient entities, even long after, to suffer in body or in mind, so far already are evils. Suffering is, in sentient entities, the actual pain, bodily or mental, resulting from that evil.

But is there, on this globe, any real evil and real suffering?

I know very well that some have said not: because, on the one hand, all the evils which we find on this globe only arise out of the disproportion relative to each other, presented by certain elements which, in other and different propor-

tions relative to each other, would only have produced unmixed good and happiness ; and because, on the other hand, these very evils themselves, only arising out of the mere disproportion between certain elements of good, often again lead to later recombinations of them in other different proportions, ultimately conducive to good and happiness. These people are called optimists.

But whatever leads to suffering, so far leads to evil. Suffering itself, whether bodily or mental, no matter what earlier modifications it arises from, or what later modifications it leads to, or how long it lasts, while it lasts is intrinsically an evil ; and there is on this globe an immense quantity of suffering, both physical and mental.

It is nevertheless true that all evil, all suffering, bodily and mental, only arises out of a later unravelling and decombination of those very elements and substances, of which a prior combination had produced prior good, a prior tendency to pleasure, or a prior actual pleasure ; that evil is only an episode in the current of natural developments, of which the history is that of good ; that, as all unravelling and decombination can only arise from a disproportion relative to each other, borne by certain of those same opposite elements, of which a prior different proportion relative to each other produced combination—as it can only arise from one of the two opposite



elements, which, when they press against each other with equal force, combine together, pressing against each other with force so unequal, that while the one is still permitted to advance, the other is made to retreat before it, to retrograde, to fly, and to disperse in space—all evil can only arise from a disproportion in the quantity of those very elements which, in other and different quantities and proportions, relative to each other, produce good.

In fact, try any sort of evil, of decombination, we please, from those decombinations of a physical sort most early and elementary, which may have taken place longest before any sentient entities, capable of suffering from their consequences, yet existed, and which only from a great prior distance in time prepared the means of actual future sufferings, physical or mental, to those other decombinations, physical or intellectual, which in sentient entities are most immediately followed by actual present sufferings bodily and mental most acute, and the evil, the suffering will universally be found to have arisen from certain opposite elements, which in peculiar relative proportions would have increased combination, meeting in other different peculiar relative proportions,—from one of those opposite elements meeting the other in a quantity, and with an impetus, so much greater than that with

the other resisted that quantity, that impetus, that, in place of the two opposite elements being each through the other rendered alike stationary, and being at a point intermediate between the two opposite prior ones, from which they approached each other, made to combine together in a third production, singly different from either of the two former, the strongest, continuing alone to advance, forces the weakest again to retrograde, and in its divergence in a backward direction, to lose itself in surrounding space.

Already, if of that force most early and universal of any, called the force of gravitation, of which opposite portions made on other forces and elements, floating in intermediate space, from both sides to press with equal intensity, will press these in the form more definite, solid, and lasting of a globe capable of becoming in its turn the foundation of other substances and bodies supported by it, opposite portions be on other forces and elements, floating in intermediate space, made to press from each side with a different degree of intensity, they will of these intervening forces and elements cause the greater portion from one side to be driven beyond the common centre, and of the other weaker portion, coming from the other side, again force a part, before the portion coming from the opposite side, to revert to the point from whence it came, to

retrograde, to diverge, and to disperse; and if former opposite portions of different elements and substances should already have contributed there to form a globe, of that globe again to cause part to be decombined.

Again, if of that electricity, of a compressing and condensing sort, called cold, of which opposite rays, made to press on other forces and elements intervening between them, produces in these a combination and condensation even more forcible and tenacious than that caused by mere gravitation, called consolidation and crystallization, and of that other electricity moving in a contrary direction to that of cold, called of heat, of which the rays, penetrating within the condensations formed by cold, again distend, and separate these, so as to make the forces and elements before compressed and consolidated return to a state of dissolution, fluidity, gaseousness and radiance, of which two opposite electricities of cold and heat the intermixture with each other in certain proportions, causes in the substances on which they act that intermixture of solids and fluids which produces the movements of life, the intermixture with each other again takes place in certain other proportions so different from the former ones as to make all the fluids become solid, or again as to make all the solids return to a state of fluidity, this intermixture will in opposite ways again prevent that cir-

culation, or where it had already taken place, will again make it cease, and cause the life already produced again, either by too general a solidity, or by too general a fluidity, to end in death.

Again, of that heat from on high driven down to our globe, and of that humidity from our globe driven upward into the atmosphere, of which the meeting in certain proportions will arrest each other, and cause the combination or increase of bodies vegetable and animal, the meeting in other proportions, different from the former ones, will produce effects so different that, if heat preponderate too much, it will of the soil before moist and fertile dry up all the moisture, and will render it a mere arid desert, and that, if moisture preponderate too greatly, it will convert its whole surface into a swamp or puddle.

Of the other elements and substances, from the atmosphere by gravitation of a centripetal sort driven down to this globe, and of the other elements and substances, from the body of this globe by gravitation of a centrifugal sort driven upwards into the atmosphere, of which the meeting in certain proportions likewise produces mutual resistance, and, through this mutual resistance, the combination in solids crystalline, vital, sensitive or intellectual, the meeting in other different proportions again produces, where by no prior similar opposite forces, elements, and substances any prior combinations yet have

been formed, the unproductive repulsion of the one, and as unproductive pursuit of the other, and where such combinations and solid bodies have already been formed, only again produces their later decombination, and unravelling in the way of sudden explosion, or more slow combustion or putrefaction, by means of which their component ingredients are again made to separate, to fly off, to disperse, and to disappear in more extensive and distant surrounding space.

Should in bodies vegetable and animal, of the aggregation of opposite component elements already formed, of which further substances more aqueous from underneath ascending, and further substances more aerial from on high descending, when meeting in certain relative proportions, only increase the growth, and development, and expansion, these further opposite substances only meet in certain other different relative proportions, in which they no longer are able to balance each other, the new formations deriving from them on one side will at last so exceed the new formations deriving from them on the other side—in vegetables the roots will so exceed the foliage, or the foliage the roots,—and in animals the parts gastric will so exceed the parts pulmonic, or the parts pulmonic so exceed the parts gastric, that by oppression of the one or the other,—by repletion or by exhaustion, or both,—

the whole entity will at last again be made to decombine and to die.

Should in animals the more aqueous venous blood from within ascending into the lungs, rise in these in quantities greater than the aerial elements from without can resist and combine with into sufficient arterial blood, this venous blood, first and to a certain degree necessary to the combination of animal organs, will at last again so overpower and oppress the parts formed, as to make them, by stagnation, repletion, and dropsy, lose their faculties and forms, decompose and die: or should, on the contrary, in those animals, the aerial elements from on high descend into the lungs in greater quantities than the venous blood from within rising can resist and recombine with the same into sufficient arterial blood, necessary in order on the prior parts merely vital to superstruct other new organs sensitive and mental, these elements from on high will entirely consume the vital parts already formed, and make the animal, by exhaustion and consumption of its very vital base and foundation, again give way and die.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

*Continuation of the preceding chapter.*

WE have, in the former chapter, said that only the same opposite elements which, in certain proportions relative to each other produce good, utility, benefit and happiness, when in proportion relative to each other different from these former ones, produce evil, detriment and suffering.

To this assertion some people may find exceptions. Because the incipient degrees of sensation, though ever beginning in sensations of sheer enjoyment, are often so feeble and so short as to be subsequently entirely looked over, and forgotten in the later and higher degrees in which they become painful,—because when a sensation, become painful, is again made to cease, a subsequent sensation of pleasure is felt more rapturously than one not preceded by a sensation of pain,—and because, in human beings, the first external movements and demonstrations that seem to arise out of and to indicate internal sensations, seem to indicate prior internal sensations of pain, some persons have thought that the first sensations of which we are susceptible are really sensations of pain: that sensations of pleasure only

come afterwards as a relief from prior sensations of pain.

Were this in reality the case, sad indeed would be the lot of man. Pain being ever the prior condition—the *sine qua non*—of sensation, and pleasure being only its later eventual consequence, the sensation of pain would always, where sensation existed at all, be certain, that of pleasure only be uncertain, doubtful. We must always experience pain first, and in the greatest and most certain quantity, and pleasure last, and in the smallest and most precarious degree. Life must, from its first dawn to its ultimate close, be in man a dark and losing concern; and the more we lived on—the greater the number of faculties of sensation, corporeal and mental, we received—the greater would with these become the chance of the sufferings exceeding the pleasures of existence. Man would then, instead of only, like the tyrant Polycrates, doing enough to insure his happiness by inflicting on himself some voluntary but bearable woe, by which to buy off the more serious miseries incidental to humanity, never be prompt enough in extricating himself at once from all the untoward chances of existence, by putting to its duration a final end. Man would then act wisest by plunging, not merely his finest gem, but his very person, in the deepest abysses of the ocean, and thus at once destroying in its very source that series of ills, which, the more he



allows life to run on, the more the preponderance over that of its goods must needs increase.

But in reality such is not the case. Already the instinctive love of life—the reluctance to part with existence—so prevalent not only in those individuals reckoned happy, but even in most of those suffering under great afflictions of body and of mind, assure us in most cases of the contrary, assure us that in most cases, even in those deemed most miserable, the enjoyments of life still preponderate over its sufferings; and the more we analyse the detail of the different sources of happiness and misery, the more we find the preponderance of the former over the latter confirmed: the more we find that the former exist first, and may exist without being followed by the latter;—that the existence of the former is the rule, and that of the latter only the exception.

We have already seen that every organ of every sense—whether of touch, taste, smell, hearing or sight—only by certain elements from within the body with certain elements from without, first combined, next developed, and finally matured into actual faculties of sensation, while it is made to receive these opposite elements in such proportions relative to each other as to give these organs support, benefit, increase, receives from them sensations only of a pleasant sort, and that only when the elements from either

side flow in the organ in quantities so superior to those flowing in from the opposite side, as again to drive back those others, and to cause, by entering in these organs alone, in them repletion, stagnation, over exertion, exhaustion, fatigue, and decombination, they began to cause in them uneasiness and pain : and we may add to this invariable phenomenon that the peculiar seeming symptoms of pain, appearing at the very birth of a child, in the cries it emits, being only produced by the first mechanical efforts of the lungs to expectorate, are not yet accompanied by any real pain ; nay that when later, as in a burn or a scald, a real pain is felt, which has apparently been unpreceded by any prior pleasure, there must in reality nevertheless already from the incipient heat, have been derived a certain degree of pleasure, before it rose to the intensity at which it caused dissolution and consequent pain ; and that only because the pain followed so soon after, and lasted so much longer, the prior momentary pleasure, hardly noticed while it lasted, is again immediately forgotten, and the pain alone, longer felt, remains longer remembered.

Should it be imagined that a mere absence of a peculiar sensation sometimes gives pain, because the mere absence of the act of feeding seems to produce the sensation of hunger, or because the mere absence of the act of drinking seems

to occasion the sensation of thirst—because the mere privation of the sensation of warmth seems to make one suffer from cold, or the mere privation of the sensation of cold seems to make one suffer from heat,—because when, enjoying the warmth of a fire, or a fur cloak, we are suddenly turned out into the street, or stripped naked; when sipping a delicious draught, the cup is suddenly dashed from our lips; when listening to delightful music, we find it suddenly stopped; or while imbibing the rays of a reviving sun, we find it suddenly overcast by a dense cloud,—we suffer not only a disappointment but a real pain, I shall answer that in attributing this pain to the mere privation of a certain prior pleasure stopped, we labour under an illusion, an error. That while the organs of sense are expanded to the influx of a peculiar means of enjoyment, the sudden cessation of those means at the same time leaves room for the influx of other modifications, of a different sort, in such excess, as soon to cause actual pain.

That, for instance, when in the stomach hunger produces pain, it is only from the cessation of food from without poured into that stomach, leaving the gastric juices from within poured out into the same receptacle, so uncombined, so unneutralized that, for want of being consumed, they turn back upon, and begin to decompose the very coats of that stomach itself—

That, in the body, only from want of heat or cold sufficient to neutralize the radiances of the opposite force, leaving these radiances of the opposite force to act unresisted and unmodified, we suffer from their excess—

That in the senses of taste, smell, hearing and sight, when they are in full receipt of sensations agreeing with them, we derive from the sudden suspension of these sensations an irksome feel, it is because the elements from without, ceasing to flow in their organs, leave those from within, destined to meet and to combine with them in new food, unneutralized and uncombined, by their excess and rawness, to cause this sudden stagnation, repletion, and chill.

Should it be observed that certain impressions precisely while feeble—that of water while lukewarm, of food when insipid, of flavours and smells while faint, of forms while indistinct, of a tale inane and flat—occasion a species of irksomeness or nausea, which similar impressions, when more acute and pungent, again remove, I shall answer that this phenomenon proceeds not directly from the sensations which these impressions give, but from these impressions by their very feebleness still leaving room in their weak state for other different disagreeable impressions, which, when stronger, they entirely exclude.

Should it be observed that physic often already, from its very first and feeblest perception and

smack, produces violent nausea, I shall answer that this proceeds from that physic being intrinsically composed of elements so different and acting on papillæ of taste and smell intermixed with each other so different and yet so closely wedged together, that the impression produced on each sort of papillæ, which, if produced separately might longer have remained pleasant, when falling on these different papillæ simultaneously, almost immediately and from the very first, causes the action of each to struggle with, and be impeded by, and cause irksomeness in that produced in the other.

And should it finally be observed that after a peculiar pain, a relief from it renders the subsequent pleasure more intensely felt, I shall say that this only arises from the interval of pain causing the elements from within, calculated by combination with elements from without to produce that pleasure, while the pain lasts to remain so suspended, as afterwards to flow on unexhausted in greater quantities than they would have done, if not made for a time thus by stoppage to accumulate.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

*Further continuation of the preceding chapter.*

HAVING thus I hope proved that all sensations, as they begin by being beneficial, also begin by being pleasant, and only when carried beyond a certain pitch, become both detrimental and painful, I shall now continue to give instances that only those same elements which, when meeting and combining in certain relative proportions, produce good, benefit and happiness, when in certain other different relative proportions meeting and combined, produce all the evils and miseries of this world.

Thus should in the organs of sense and mind, of certain external modifications, of which the influxes and impressions only carried to a moderate degree leave a recollection capable of nourishing the mind, and consequently, of giving it pleasure, be received influxes and impressions, carried to such an immoderate degree, as to have a recollection capable of wearing out that mind, they will cause in the mind those mental sufferings called passions, and even, through the reaction of the mind on the body, in that very body cause those injuries, disorganizations and con-

sequent bodily sufferings, which are experienced in consequence of desires, whether called lust, love, ambition, avarice, or anger, hatred, envy, jealousy, fear, sorrow, or others, carried to excess without being gratified, or even when immoderately gratified.

And in the same way as in single individuals, so in bodies corporate, should those same feelings which, in certain proportions relative to each other, contribute to cement, support, extend and develop the different component parts of the community, exist in proportions relative to each other so different that some overpower and others yield to the remainder, they will in only of that community cause the gradual weakening, decline, overthrow, undermining, evil, unhappiness and decombination.

Should in a social state, of whose formation the object is not only the acquisition of means of enjoyment beyond what can be attained by the members in their state of nature, but also the increase of the power of protecting and securing those means of enjoyment acquired, an overweaning anxiety respecting this latter object, cause the former to be eclipsed—cause the means of defence so to preponderate over the means of production, as to make this social state resemble that of ancient Sparta,—what will be the consequence? The excessive anxiety to promote the arts of war and destruction will cause the advancement

of the arts of peace and production, by which ought first to have been reared things worth defending, to be so neglected, that not only the nation will produce nothing worth defending, but will for a time vent its unoccupied and exuberant leisure and strength in aggressions and inroads on the peace and tranquillity of its neighbours, and will next fall into such anarchy and dissension at home, that when their neighbours retaliate the evils suffered, they will find them an easier prey, than, by a proper balance between the arts of peace and of war—of production and of destruction—they could possibly have found them.

Or thus again, should in a state the accumulation of money, the mere representative sign, and not even of the objects most valuable to a community—namely, valour, public spirit, patriotism, and zeal for its welfare and defence—be so exclusively sought, that, in the ardour to heap up pelf, the acquisition of all the higher qualities, not capable of being estimated in hard coin, be forgotten—that money became the only wealth thirsted for, and the objects exchangeable for hard cash the only things valued—that venality be the only feeling fostered, and gold the only god worshipped—this preponderating anxiety only for a few of the means of enjoyment, that neglect of others more extensive and more permanent, will cause the state, like ancient Car-



thage, early, by weakness and corruption, to become a prey to all the calamities from which plenty of money is considered the surest ægis and protection.

Thus should in a community, as at Athens, the dislike to despotism, the love of liberty, the solicitude for equality of rights,—to a certain degree commendable qualities,—rise to such a paramount height, as to cause a mistrust of whoever, by his rank, or wealth, or talents, or public services had distinguished himself in the least from his fellow-citizens, and might, by possessing their confidence, gain over their minds any sway; should this distrust immediately make them discard such a man, banish him, deprive the country of his talents and services; only give their confidence to the meanest of the mob—to common informers, and to low and ignorant ruffians,—instead of the community gaining by this proceeding additional general equality and liberty, it will only cause the persons wisest and most interested in the welfare of the state, those most fit to rule it, to become slaves to the yoke, the whims, the tyranny of the most ignorant, and capricious, and changeful, and selfish dregs of the community.

Should in a state, as in ancient Rome, the interests of a few patrician families so preponderate over those of the community at large, that the multitude at last became by famine goaded on to rise against the few, and that these few, in order

to defend themselves against the many, were made, instead of trusting the defence of themselves and their country to its citizens at large, to trust their own defence against the very citizens themselves to a small band of hirelings, these venal troops would soon use their power to lay the law alike to the plebs on one hand, and to the patricians on the other, make and unmake emperors at their pleasure, and leave a ruthless prætorian band, without law or control, the sole despots of the commonwealth.

Should in a state in which the arts of utility and comfort ought ever only out of the exuberance of the means they supply to produce and support the arts of luxury and ornament—from the mere vanity of its rulers—so many heads and hands, minds and means be, from the production of objects wanted for use and comfort, diverted to the production of objects only of luxury and ornament, as still to increase the scarcity of the former, this premature solicitation to that for which the soil is not yet ripe, instead of advancing, will only retard the general welfare of the community; will only produce premature exhaustion, debility and suffering. It will, in the anxiety of procuring to the few superfluities at a cheaper rate, render to the many the necessities of life less accessible. It will, instead of causing the symptoms and the overflow of real wealth, only cause the deceptive glitter of gilt poverty. It will produce, instead of those fruits

abundant, and rapid, arising from a soil well prepared, only those unsubstantial, ill-flavoured abortions, swelled up through dint of mere water, which, without ever acquiring real ripeness, only fall into premature decay. It will thus, instead of increasing and forwarding the lasting welfare of the country, be a check upon its advancement, make it retrograde in means of general weal, and substitute to the solid support of universal happiness, the appearance of a phantom of prosperity, which, as soon as examined, crumbles into dust.

Should on the other hand, in a commonwealth, in which the arts of necessity and utility have been carried far enough to be able, with a proper distribution of the means that vivify them, to produce and to give unto all the inhabitants every object of utility and comfort wanted, after these arts are thus made to attain their full maturity—from the effects of an atmosphere so dense and damp as to intercept the finer impressions of the senses of hearing and sight, or of a soil so saturated with coal and so surrounded by sea, as to afford fuel too plentiful for the production and exportation of objects of mere mechanical industry, or from some other cause,—in individuals the sense and mind become so clogged and callous to the stimuli calculated to rouse them to the higher pursuits of the fine arts, as to retard in the wealthy the

inclination to afford the poor, by commissions for their production, a means of subsistence, and in the poor, by the want of such commissions, the means of exalting their pursuits and their ideas, and in both, the refined enjoyments that must arise from the production and contemplation of such works, this delay, this sluggishness, when the former species of industry can no longer alone answer the full object all industry is intended to promote, in the production of that new and higher species of industry, which in the natural course of human developements ought to have arisen out of the former, alone become insufficient, will not only prevent the arising of a great many goods, such as in the rich, an increase of legitimate and laudable pleasures, and in the poor, an increase of legitimate and laudable, and ennobling means of subsistence, and in the country at large an increased stock of those productions calculated in all classes to augment enjoyment, emulation, respectability, refinement of ideas, public spirit, patriotism, and claims on the esteem, admiration, and respect of foreigners, all which the cultivation of these higher objects would have produced, but, in as far as in this world nothing can stand still, nothing remain stationary, and whatever does not advance must needs retrograde, this baneful torpor will, by causing in some channels of wealth the influxes for want of issue to stagnate and corrupt, and

in other channels these influxes to run waste and be lost, produce in the community the seeds of incalculable positive evils and sufferings.

Of the members of the community who, gifted with means to afford the poor, in commissions for works of art, an employment both more lucrative and more exalting—more certain of keeping them from want and starvation, and of ennobling their minds—fail in inclination so to do, some, of a totally inert disposition, will only suffer their inflowing wealth from their hands to relapse in their coffers, and there to return to the state of entire inactivity and absence of circulation and productiveness, in which the gold lay first buried in the mine; others, goaded on by ennui, will try to cast off their tedium by the opposite extreme of giving their wealth, through the process of gambling, a circulation so rapid, as to leave it no leisure to become productive of any desirable fruits, and only, while reducing the loser to despair, to procure in the winner a mere momentary and feverish joy; others again will endeavour to beguile their listlessness, by wasting their superfluous wealth, according to their different dispositions, in various intermediate ways, none so wholly hostile to all good purpose as the former extremes, but all still inefficient to that of producing happiness.

Some will, under a mistaken notion of manliness of taste and pursuits, riot in drunkenness,

in debauchery, in debasing pastimes, in feats only calculated for the applause of the lowest rabble, in endeavours not to exalt their taste, manners, and language, but, by bringing their pursuits down to the level of those of their menials and dependents, to become the scoff of their own grooms and postilions. Others will, under an idea of dignity of demeanour equally erroneous, consume their wealth in empty, unsubstantial, hollow ostentation and show; in keeping a silly state, in maintaining, at an expense which might have supported a number of artisans and their families in employments honest, industrious, and calculated to enrich, improve and ennoble themselves and their country, a number only of useless and servile sycophants, servants, hounds, horses, equipages and retainers, only fit by their idleness and corruption to spread contamination and vice far and wide; others again, under the notion of greater elegance and refinement of taste, will exhaust their means in pursuits still more effeminate—in the encouragement of productions of mere frivolous fashion, no sooner acquired than, even before they have had time to lose their first bloom, already by their inanity palling upon the sense, and again discarded for other productions equally inane, of which the rapid rotation, while wasting the means of the purchaser, ensures not the support, or improves not the intellect of the maker, but only causes the latter, by alternate

sudden overabundance and as sudden lack of employment and wages, to pass as rapidly from the utmost heights of improvidence, intoxication, insolence and profligacy, into the utmost abyss of misery, starvation, despair and crime. Nay all the wealthy alike will, from the debasement of their mind, and from the disproportion between the real worth of different things and the imaginary value they set upon them, acquire for mere gold—in itself only a glittering substance, without intrinsic means of procuring happiness, or even pleasure—a thirst so inadequate to the real portion of felicity gold is able to afford, as to destroy all public spirit, all patriotism, all regard for integrity, virtue, and whatever else supports and strengthens a community—as to substitute to these mere venality, corruption and a spirit of jobbing—as to cause every thing in the country—the seat in the senate, and the privileges of the pulpit, the right of defending the interests of man, and the task of inculcating his duties, like the box at the opera or the concert—like the shake of the stage dancer, and the quaver of the soprano—only to be deemed worth what they will fetch in the market; and as to make the highest orders of the community, instead of being those most solicitous for the public welfare, those precisely most ingenious in sacrificing the public good to their private emolument.

Nor will those other members of the com-

munity who, only gifted with powers of head and hand to earn a subsistence, when the productions of mere mechanical arts are raised in sufficient quantities to satisfy all, require the cravings of the wealthy to entice them to the production of things at once more exalting and more lucrative, and which, without this spur, their habits would not have induced them to try the success of, little as by this dilatoriness in pursuing higher aims, they have to lose, of that little lose less. They will, in despair at no longer by their mere mechanical labour earning the wonted subsistence, cease their toil, fling away their tools, break their machines, give up the possibility even of resuming their former occupations, if they should wish it. They will, for want of being able to take to higher employments, in their forced idleness, while they retain some fear of those above them, doggedly receive, or extort from them an arrogant, a forced, and a degrading charity; and, when by the daily sight of the wanton way in which the wealthy part of the community spend their means, and the contrast thereof with their own misery, they at last are made to lose all regard for laws, from which they only reap an inadequate advantage, will avail themselves of their superior numbers, resort to rapine and to violence, and destroy all the means of enjoyment of the rich, without adding much to their own felicity.



The very palliations by short-sighted ministers resorted to, in order to prevent these dire effects of disproportion between wants and means, without striking at the root of the evil—drawbacks on goods exported, the importation of foreign productions prohibited; new machinery invented to render mechanical industry, already too rapid, more productive; canals and railroads traversing the soil, spread over its surface, to render the circulation more easy and rapid, where unaccompanied by any means of fomenting a general craving for the production of the higher works of art, not yet existing,—will only accelerate the effects of the growing evil, and render the explosion more awful and more terrible. In the midst of a land covered with wealthy and industrious cities, surrounded by seas, on which ride fleets leading to wide extended and flourishing colonies, will the whole social system, for want only of a proportionate distribution of, and balance between its means of enjoyment and prosperity, inevitably fall into the extremes of disorganization, ruin, misery, and suffering.

## CHAPTER XXX.

*When on this globe evil first began, and how it gradually increased.*

I HAVE shown that those very forces and elements which, in certain proportions relative to each other, are made to combine and produce good, in certain other different proportions relative to each other, are again made to decompose these former combinations, and to produce evil; that evil only arises from the excess of certain of the elements of good.

People in general apprehend that on this globe of ours all began by being unmixed good: that as soon as any rational entities arose on it in the character of Adam and Eve, unqualified virtue and happiness arose with them: that on this globe the destination of man first was to live on for ever, exempt from evil, from decomposition, from suffering and from death; that only after Eve yielded to temptation and to sin, evil, and with it, the doom of mankind to misery and death, began as a direct punishment of Eve's offence.

I cannot suppose this to be the right inter-

pretation of the scriptural text. I cannot believe evil to have been a consequence only of an act of Eve's. I rather imagine Genesis only meant to describe both Eve's sin and subsequent death as successive effects of a cause already anterior to Eve's offence, nay to her very birth; that her misdoings, her sufferings, and those of her progeny, arose from an impulse given prior to her existence to the movements of this globe, in which all Eve's actions, wrong as well as right, necessarily bore their share.

If, as I have in the foregoing chapters attempted to prove, all in the universe begins with elements of combination and good, but if at the same time, from certain of these elements of good themselves being in certain points of time and space relative to each other in proportions uneven and ill balanced, must already early have arisen partial evil, it is probable that some such evil had already arisen in this universe prior to the first creation of this globe, since the very deflection of gravitation, which was the cause of this globe offering an individual form distinct and separate from that of more central worlds, and the very irregularity of the later movements of this globe, which arose out of that deflection, indicate some such prior irregularity, and would suffice in their turn to account for all the later irregularities, evils and decompositions to which this globe has since been subject.

And in fact that the sources of evil already existed in this globe prior to the formation of man, seems by scripture itself, in its figurative way, acknowledged, first in the account of the angels rebelling against God, and next in the allegorical planting in Paradise of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, previous to Eve's offence, which implied that already previous to that offence there existed roots not only of good but of evil: inasmuch as no knowledge can be conceived except of such attributes as already exist.

Without however dwelling on the first physical causes of all the various evils, physical and moral, which have since befallen the small part of the system of the universe, composing this single globe, I shall only try to give a short sketch of how the principal evils, physical and moral, commencing long before the surface of this ball was sufficiently matured to bear rational, or even sentient or living entities whatever, by degrees developed.

Some people trace the havocs of which this globe shows the early traces entirely to the preponderance of heat, and thence have been called Vulcanists: others trace them wholly to that of water, and thence have been called Neptunists.

Each sect seems alike to have forgotten that both fire and water are only different modifications, each composed of many different simpler prior elements—such as time, space, gravitation centripetal and centrifugal, electricity, substance,

&c.—and that consequently of some of those prior component elements there must thus somewhere in time and space already have been a disproportion, an irregular distribution, a preponderance, before there could be any disproportion either of fire or water. Each sect has failed alike in perceiving that, at whatever period, and in whatever place the preponderance of either fire or water began anywhere, it could not have continued very long, ere a preponderance of the other modification also began in some other different place; since if, on the one hand, here we see on the very tops of the highest mountains the remains of immense strata of aquatic productions, which could not have been formed there if water had not at some period covered the surface of this globe;—if here we recognise water itself as a necessary agent in kindling up subterraneous fires and causing earthquakes and volcanoes, and stumble upon enormous decompositions, recombinations, congelations and crystallizations, produced by the mere agency of water,—there again we find certain substances very primitive and general, such as quartz, feldspar, and other calcareous, sulphureous and bituminous, insoluble in water, which can only have been combined by heat and fusion. Since other substances, like granite and trapstone, though in many places since made to pierce athwart, and to protrude beyond the stratified

rock, must yet originally have been formed and situated immediately above the region of pure metals, out of whose elements alone they can have first been composed by mere fusion ; and seem only on these beds of metals to have arisen from seas first formed at the surface of this globe having subsequently penetrated to its metallic nucleus, and there having recombined part of its oxygen with part of these metals in the form of these granites, which only by the same heat that combined them, were made to boil over, and in their turn again to break athwart their later superstructures ; and since there are later lavas, basalts, porphyries, nay pyrites, again found enclosed in larger bodies, by earlier fires composed and thrown up, and since those very stratified rocks, first by water combined in a horizontal position, have later in most places been cracked, lifted up and placed on edge in a vertical position, by the force of those very fires from within, by which the cracks produced in those strata were, under the name of metallic veins, filled with ore ; and since, besides those earlier subterraneous fires of which we still every where on this globe recognize the traces, we still in numberless places see actual manifestations of such internal fires, in volcanoes to this day remaining in full activity.

That however on this globe no central fire was kindled, and was left to this day to diffuse

throughout its mass a general heat outward, appears since the deeper we dive in the surrounding seas and lakes, the colder the water feels.

That while the sun of our system, though already in its capacity as one of the many later and more partial secondary worlds, it already probably has a density much greater than that of other more primary globes, is still four times less dense than this globe of ours—that this globe of ours from the oblique pressure of centripetal gravitation acting from without upon it, and from the oblique counter-pressure of centrifugal gravitation only from within its centre reacting outward, is become so dense, as to have left the elements driven to its interior in complete immobility and inertness, and to have caused all further combinations and decombinations to be confined to its mere external crust, is proved not only theoretically but practically, by its external surface appearing subject to no changes such as would have arisen from internal circulations very deep seated and very general. The very deepest source of the earthquakes convulsing its external crust, and of the eruptions and volcanoes that rend its external surface, are not calculated to lie more than, so to speak, skin deep. Still are we unable to reach even as deep as the origin of these disturbances; and the more continuous internal masses and reservoirs of those

metals of which they show, and we so anxiously explore, the outermost overflowings and veins, will perhaps never by the utmost avidity of man be reached.

That only by later successive showers, coming more remotely from surrounding space, and more proximately from our own atmosphere, of elements and substances similar to those that formed the first nucleus or earlier strata of this globe, its later circumference was enlarged, appears from the mode even, parallel and horizontal to its first nucleus and to each other, in which these later strata seem to have been formed and consolidated, before by later expansion by fire from within they appear again in many places to have been broken, disturbed, and placed on end.

That after certain strata of substance had by pressure from without been consolidated, of these strata parts were from within, by the expansive force of centrifugal gravitation, of electricity or of heat, again made to rise up in vapour, and with fresh showers of different elements from on high to mix, before this mixture was again made to collapse and consolidate on the former strata, appears since often between two layers of substances wholly different from each other, appears an intermediate layer, composed partly of the substance underneath, and partly of the substance above it.



That the materials which now compose the highest apices of the highest mountains, protruding from the face of the globe, once formed the general and continuous bed of the seas that enveloped the whole surface of the earth—that only by tremendous subsequent partial and oblique pressures upon that surface were caused the deep scoopings out of some parts, and corresponding elevations of others, appears from the very tops of the highest Alps all round this globe having formed the habitations of testacea, and consequently having once been immersed in water—the remains of such animals having been discovered by Ulloa in immense strata in the Andes at the height of fourteen thousand feet, and by Wells in the Himmaleys at the height of sixteen thousand feet above the present level of the sea.

That formerly this globe was situated nearer to other planets and to the sun—that with the other planets it once formed round that sun, their common parent, a group or circle closer than it does now—that by the centrifugal gravitation diverging from the sun these latter bodies, while intrinsically by degrees enlarged, were also gradually extrinsically driven further from that sun, and from each other, appears since our globe shows the marks of having formerly received from that sun more heat, and from other surrounding bodies greater pressure, than it receives now.

That formerly this globe received from the sun more heat than it receives now, appears from the remains of such vegetables and such animals as now only thrive within the tropics, being found in regions near the poles; and that formerly this globe was nearer to and more pressed upon by other surrounding planets than it is now, appears from every part of its surface, showing ribs formed of those primitive alpine mountains which, very different from the lesser and more unconnected and irregular secondary eminences, are seen to run at immense and even heights, to immense distances, in rows parallel to each other, all more slanting on one side and more abrupt on the other, and thus seem the remains of immense waves, which, while the surface of the globe was still more generally liquid than it is now, were produced at that surface on a grander scale by occasional pressures more powerful than, but similar to, those which still are on a lesser scale periodically produced in the waters of the ocean and of other seas, by the pressure of our moon on our atmosphere, and which still, though only the miniature of the former elevations, are called waves.

It is when of these gigantic turgescences, by the violent pressure of other globes on ours, while still in a liquid state, produced, the more aqueous and liquid component parts had again, by the subsidence of that pressure, been left to roll

back in the intervening hollows, that in these hollows between one wave and another were formed those inland seas and lakes which still remain, while of these waves themselves the more solid materials subsided in the sharp intervening crests which divided one valley and sea from another.

That where, of the waters first continuously covering the surface of this globe, a part had thus, by the pressure of surrounding planets, been buoyed up and retained in hollows formed at a great height above the general level, a part were again by their weight and fluidity made later to break through the banks that surrounded these elevated hollows, and by degrees to find their way down to the general level, appears in the series of basins now partly dry, which, beginning in the highest ground in the interior of Asia, in the sea of Baikal, thence through the lake Aral, through the Caspian, the Euxine, and the sea of Marmora, the Archipelago, and the Mediterranean, and through the intervening steppes or straits, at last led their waters back into the general reservoir of that ocean which surrounds, and from whence gradually rose all the continents of the globe.

That besides the general pressure of the sun, and of other surrounding planets, which caused great alterations in the first forms of our globe; there were other more partial pressures—of

some planet or comet passing very near our earth—which caused great subsequent disturbances in its original movements, and rendered its rotation round its own axis, from first being perpendicular to the plane of its rotation round the sun, subsequently oblique to this latter, and the cause of all the present irregularities in the temperature of its different parts, appears since this irregularity of movement seems as far as we know peculiar to itself, and appears to date from some sudden change, that only took place long after its surface already bore vegetables and animals, inasmuch as it produced the sudden destruction of many such organic productions, living prior to it in northern climates, similar to those which at present can only exist in climates nearer the tropics.

It is a very general opinion, that where now are seen, rushing along the bottom of deep glens and ravines, roaring torrents, these torrents themselves first gradually excavated those channels, through which they have since pursued their course. But this I do not believe. I believe that fire first produced these disruptions and fissures, through which water was subsequently made to circulate; and that in the same way as in those crevices formed underground metals liquified were made to flow upwards, in those chasms formed aboveground the waters from without were afterwards made to flow downwards,

because the water flowing in those hollows in general seems totally inadequate to the labour of scooping them out, and because those fissures retain in their channels those sinuosities, those angles, those correspondences of sharp alternate projections and recesses, which are the effects of sudden disruptions by fire, and could not have remained in excavations by water; and because, finally, we find not in them those partial accumulations of alluvial soil, found where detritus by water has evidently taken place.

That these and other dire convulsions and havocs already on this globe took place in the materials of the mere mineral creation, long before its surface was ready to receive living entities, we see every where in the traces of them still subsisting, where no relics exist of any organised beings.

But that, either by these convulsions themselves causing the elements of entities to be remixed in a more intimate manner, or by new elements from higher regions successively supervening, and remixing with the wrecks of former and simpler substances, were subsequently produced entities organized and living, vegetable and animal, we likewise see.

Nay, we see that of these organic productions the earlier and simpler species seem themselves to have been the scaffolding on which arose the later and higher ones: that living entities, yet

destitute of organs of sensation, preceded, and in part caused, sensitive ones, of which we only find the first traces after and above the insentient ones; and that of those that received organs of sense, the mollusca preceded the fishes; these the saurians, and reptiles; these the quadrupeds; and these again man.

Nay, we even see, that of these organic productions, some again became developed to an immense degree, and got so much ahead as, by consuming all the materials of life, to preclude the formation of other higher sorts, until by later revolutions their forms and faculties were again destroyed, and their elements set afloat; since we find in different places remains of gigantic mollusca, and reptiles, and pachydermata, and other animals, again entirely swept away from the face of the globe, and having made way for other higher species, even before the creation of the last and highest of earthly productions, man, had begun.

That man, formed out of a remixture of various elements more complex than any brute, arose last, appears since among the many vestiges of antediluvian brutes which we have found, none yet of well-authenticated antediluvian human beings have yet appeared, although we know that after man arose on this globe, it has still frequently been visited by very general destructions, both from water and from fire.

That learned men, in asserting nature, un-

mindful as she appears of the preservation of individuals, to be more careful of that of species, are equally wrong, is proved by the number of species, entirely destroyed, of which the remains are daily brought to light.

That on this globe the decombinations, evils, sufferings, and deaths, corporeal and mental, already long before man arose very frequent, must still, after man's creation, have in intensity and extension infinitely increased, appears since in man the organs of sense and of mind, in number, variety, developement, and closeness, infinitely exceed those found in any brute ; and since, as on the right and moderate excitement of these organs depend the enjoyments and happiness of existence—notwithstanding the famous saying of Shakspeare, that the worm, in death, experiences pangs equal to the giant—on the wrong and excessive excitement of them depend the sufferings and miseries of existence.

That even of the human species itself the subdivisions, by natural organisation, or by later cultivation, education, and developement, carried only to a less elevated pitch, still remain only capable of sufferings of body and mind less acute, than those species and individuals by nature or by art more developed and refined, whose organs of sense and mind, consequently more ample and close-wedged, sooner suffer from extremes of excitement, appears since the

negro and the Samoyede are, from heat and cold, hunger and thirst, dentition and parturition, and other physical impressions and processes incidental to humanity, still apt to suffer so much less than higher tribes, as not yet to dread even those pains, after Eve's offence peculiarly denounced against her, and which therefore alone already mark her as an individual, no longer of the more inferior, but of the last and highest human tribes; and since, unaided by the suggestions of philosophy, the negro bears surgical operations with a degree of insensibility, of which all the pride of stoicism hardly enables the white man to assume the appearance; nay since not only Hottentots and other savages envelope their bodies with the putrid remains of the carcasses they feed upon, without being annoyed by the nausea these produce, but even the lower and less educated individuals of higher species receive not yet any annoyance from those offensive tastes, smells, sounds, and sights, which are sufficient to torture senses refined and more delicate.

We admire, in the lower orders, that comparative resignation and courage with which they face the loss of children, of limbs, and of life. We wonder at the coolness shown in battle by the common soldier or sailor, who have not to feats of heroism the excitements felt by the officer. The truth is that in the former this indifference to danger and death proceeds from the



fewer permanent goods they have to bid adieu to with life; and that the pleasures they leave behind, cause in their less excitable mind a less acute regret. The sailor, with ties in the past less numerous, less forcible to tear asunder, feels, on dying, with regard to the future none of those doubts and misgivings, which, founded or not, affect those whose views, both one way and the other, are carried further. The crude, indigest, and confused ideas of fatality—that is to say, of the necessity of certain ultimate events taking place, wholly independent of prior efficient causes,—still to a certain degree cling to by all minds naturally apathic or little cultivated,—still screens the sailor from those fears respecting the future, which, at the awful moment of taking leave of all the past, fill with apprehension minds more voluble and more sensitive.

In the lower orders, who have less to regret, resignation to death cannot yet imply that high attribute of moral courage, which it may proceed from in higher individuals, who, possessed of and appreciating to the full all the enjoyments of life, yet prefer the loss of these blessings to that of the esteem of the community.

In a body and mind, both by nature finely organised, and by art highly cultivated, sufferings, in their lowest degree, beginning in the effects of an atmosphere somewhat too hot or too cold; in a pillow somewhat too soft or too

hard ; in a flavour or odour somewhat too flat or too pungent ; in a sound somewhat less cadenced ; in a sight somewhat less metrical than had been anticipated ; in a dish by Very ; a cadence by Veluti ; a pirouette by Vestris ; and a quantity by Virgil *manqué*, may rise in a progressive climax to the last and highest torture both bodily and mental, of which the bare mention would freeze the soul with horror.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

*In man alone arise those sufferings, first only beginning in the feelings of the mind, which are pre-eminently called passions.*

MAN is not only liable to feel even the sufferings beginning and ending in the sense, of which brutes already have their share, much more acutely than any brutes can do; he is, moreover, and he alone, liable to feel those sufferings first beginning in the mind, in the recollections of past sensations alone, of which brutes feel not yet the most incipient degree; and which, arising from the idea of certain past external objects and sensations, and the desires by these produced of similar future sensations carried too far, cannot be satisfied, or even in the very act of gratifying them, prepare the way for later fresh mischief, physical or mental.

Thus man alone is liable to a recollection or an idea of the charms, bodily or mental, of a peculiar woman, and to a desire of enjoying those charms of body and of mind too powerful and too exclusive to allow him to remain sensible to the charms, physical and intellectual,

even of other women, equally great, equally calculated to gratify his feelings, and more easily attained; and thereby not only neglects enjoyments which he might have possessed, but if he cannot obtain the peculiar woman he wishes for, suffers from his unsatisfied desires pangs of mind, and through the reaction of the mind on the body, even bodily pangs, languor, loss of appetite, emaciation, consumption and disease; nay often, even where he can obtain the peculiar woman he desires—can gratify his lust or love for her—is liable to do so in such a mode and degree, as to prepare for himself new sufferings of body and of mind, even greater than those he escaped from.

Thus man again is liable to vent his anger in acts of irritation and revenge; his thirst of power, of pelf, or of praise in acts of ambition, cupidity, avarice, or vanity, with a degree of eagerness and avidity beyond all proportion to the enjoyment which these acts can afford him, even when successful, and which, if they are unsuccessful, is apt to make him repine at disappointments entirely fabricated in his own mind. He is liable for past pleasures lost to feel so much regret, so much grief, so much sorrow, as to become insensible to future pleasures still in his power, and which, if enjoyed, might have filled up all his time with happiness. He is liable to apprehensions, fears, suspicions, jealousies and dis-

trusts, beyond what external circumstances warrant, and which, while they continue, torment not only his mind, but by their reaction on the body, even wear out that body itself. He is pale with fear, flushed with anger, palpitating with jealousy, yellow with envy and bile. According as the ideas formed are those of objects of fear and of aversion, they cause the nervous fluid to be in the brain chilled, and from the external muscles through the nervous ducts retracted inward, and these muscles themselves to collapse, and the blood in them to ebb away, and the body to become cold and palsied, and the external roots of the organs of sense to appear fixed and drawn; and according as these ideas, on the contrary, are those of objects we desire to grasp, to lay hold of, and to master, they cause the nervous fluid to effervesce, to overflow, to rush outward, to be through the nervous ducts propelled to the muscles, to be made in those muscles to increase the flow of blood, the flush and the heat, and to give to the external roots of the nerves situated on them orgasm and tension. Nay, by the violence of his passions man is made to lose his presence of mind, and impelled to commit, in order to fly from his torment, actions preparing for the organs of sense and intellect other torments, even greater than those he flies from. The man frightened will, in order to vent

his fear, rush down a precipice ; the man in anger will, in his fury, stamp till he has crippled himself against an insensible stone ; the man jealous of his mistress's love will fret, fume, and tease her, till he has at last won her hatred.

And not only single individuals but bodies corporate, entire communities, are liable to certain passions, such as those of avarice, ambition, envy, jealousy, animosity, revenge, rivalry, and others, which often carry them beyond all bounds of reason, and, by depriving their mind of that equipoise which of every measure permits one to calculate the advantages and disadvantages, make them commit the very faults for which they blame their adversaries, and incur the very penalties which they would wish these to suffer.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

*Vis medicatrix.*

FORCES, elements and substances during a certain period, and to a certain distance impelled with such intensity, as not to be, by forces, elements and substances from the opposite side impelled, resisted and balanced, but to overpower, and to drive these before them in progressive accumulation, go on moving and acting, till at a later period and in a further place by their own expansion weakened, they are by the opposite elements, forces and substances, in consequence of the corresponding pressure, condensation and accumulation these experience strengthened, again in their return resisted and overpowered.

Thus of gravitation centripetal, of which a certain portion, driving a globe to another larger globe, threatens to make the former collapse on the latter, another portion, from the latter globe again made to recoil, and to become centrifugal towards the former, will, by its counterpressure and resistance, again prevent that former globe from approaching too near the latter, and cause it to be by that latter repelled.

Thus of heat a certain portion, in a body by cold solidified penetrating, confined and accumulated, till by its pressure from within that body on its surrounding envelopes, it distends and dissevers these inclosures, and is again by them let out and left to evaporate, will by the very excess of its strength lose that strength, and again, as it again spreads further, proportionably weaken.

Thus the water, in a hollow receptacle accumulated to a height at which it prevents vegetable and animal productions from breathing and growing, and annihilates all those that in it existed, at last by its increasing weight breaks the very barriers to whose resistance it owed its forced elevation, and not only overflows, and over a larger expanse exerts less weight, but perhaps even causes in that larger expanse, by greater diminution of its density, the arising of that fertility which its excess had before over a smaller expanse prevented.

Thus when certain influxes from without are in certain parts of a body vegetable or animal, in whom their circulation ought to produce support, growth and welfare, stopped from advancing, they by that very stoppage are round the diseased spot made to accumulate in a ring, whose vitality by this accumulation heightened, at last penetrates to and again causes the sore to heal.



Thus after cold, from without penetrating too partially or too powerfully in a living body, has caused its fluids to condense till they are prevented from circulating through that body, and leave it impoverished and feverish, the internal heat by that surrounding cold condensed and strengthened, will at last in its turn again acquire over the surrounding heat such preponderance as to break through it, to drive it out in the shape of a profuse perspiration, and to re-establish the former absorption, circulation, nutrition and health.

Thus after substances intended for nutrition have from without been taken into the stomach, in quantities beyond what the gastric juice, from within the body poured into that stomach, can encounter and can decombine, and have caused in that stomach food to accumulate undigested till it oppressed and sickened that viscus, this very accumulation, by stopping the efflux of gastric juice, will cause this latter also to accumulate till it lifts up the undigested food, causes it to be thrown off upwards or downwards, and relieves the stomach of its load.

Thus after certain impressions, through the sense produced in the mind, have in that mind by their intensity occasioned passions, and sufferings mental and bodily, these very sufferings will in their turn leave recollections calculated

to make us guard against the further reception, indulgence and cherishing of such ideas, as may occasion the recurrence of similar sufferings and passions.

Thus in bodies corporate, in entire communities as in single individuals, either the experience of past effects of passions will serve as a lesson for the future, or the passions will at last consume their own fuel, and thus evaporate, and leave what remains of elements of feeling to be recombined in a shape less inflammable, more solid and more lasting.

And thus not only all modifications of mere nature, but all those of art, after they have arisen to a height so disproportionate to that of the opposite modifications, calculated to resist them, and with them to produce new combinations and new goods, as thence to produce evil, by that very excess and stoppage of other opposite modifications, cause the sources of these latter through dint of repose and accumulation, in proportion as the former by exhaustion weaken, so to strengthen as in their turn to overcome these former ones.

And this tendency of the sources of evil themselves to contribute to later good, is called the *vis medicatrix*, and, already by nature itself in all its modifications implanted, has by art its powers more concentrated, and rendered more

speedy and more effectual. All art, on this globe, only invented for the purpose of correcting or improving certain deficiencies of nature, may be called a ramification of the vis medicatrix.

When man by artificial heat or coolness, by stoves and by ventilation, by clothing and brick walls softens the impression of the outer air on his body, he employs the vis medicatrix. When he renders a soil too humid, by draining, or too dry, by irrigation, or too tardy and scant in its productions, by manure, more fertile and fitted for agriculture, he resorts to the vis medicatrix. When he employs cookery to render crude meats, by warmth and condiment, more wholesome and more palatable, he uses the vis medicatrix; and when he recurs to sudorifics and cathartics, to tonics and to emollients, to plasters and to bleeding, in order to remedy the proportions more transient or more lasting that exist between the different elements of his constitution, he only relies on the vis medicatrix in a more pointed manner. The social compact and all its rules and regulations, all its laws and penalties, all its punishments and its rewards, all that is intended to repress what is too active, and to promote what is too sluggish, are but effects of the vis medicatrix.

It is, however, true, that of individuals the

period of existence and the sphere of action are on this globe too limited, always to give this vis medicatrix time to reach them, before the evil under which they labour has removed them from this world.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

*For entities that die on this globe there is another  
and a better world.*

WE have seen in the last chapter that on this globe there is a tendency even in the elements of partial evil to produce a return to later and more general good; that the very elements which, by a more transient and less balanced combination, produce evil, ever approach a state of later recombination better proportioned, better balanced, in which they produce more unmixed benefit. Yet must it be confessed that on this globe, in which each peculiar genus of entities, unto the last and highest, that of human beings itself, still remains divided in lesser portions, or in individuals simultaneous and successive, each in time and space distinct from the rest, and each singly, in consequence of that separateness from the remainder, only possessing an existence very limited in extent and in duration,—each called away soon from this narrow scene of action—the elements even of good themselves, by their disproportionate quantity, produce in different individuals sufferings of body and of mind very dire, before they find time to be, by the vis

medicatrix, recombined in those relative proportions more even and balanced, which again reconvert them into means of felicity: that often, moreover, this subsequent good, arising out of their more even recombination, only takes place in a period of time so much later than, and in a point in space so different from, those in which arose the prior evil, that many an individual slips away in the interval that separates the evil from the remedy, without benefiting by the latter; that many an entity has become a martyr to the evil, without on this globe receiving the compensation of the subsequent good; that in individuals not only the later more general goods that may arise out of prior more partial evils, suffice not always to obliterate the scars by those evils left in peculiar entities, nor even, in their very scars to interpose insurmountable barriers to the recurrence of similar evils; but that often the evils gone by leave many individuals, nay many entire nations, to sink under their weight, and to disappear for ever from the face of the globe, before from their bosom arises the subsequent good—before they produce the remedy, which is again to transform their elements into so many sources of happiness.

Whatever, therefore, those few privileged individuals may assert to the contrary, with whom all goes well in this world; who, by kind nature gifted with good stomachs and with sanguine

tempers, are, besides, by their propitious circumstances surrounded with whatever may gratify the body and keep the mind in tune ; who experience no privation of any thing they may wish for, or only experience such slight and transient privations as render the subsequent enjoyments doubly relished ; whose tranquil imaginations, moreover, only basking in visions of delight, suffer not from sympathy with the woes of others, more than does the man who in a warm bed enjoys the storm howling in unavailing fury round his walls ;—who do not even, like some of Dante's ghosts, groan under the leaden mantle of those bad spirits which not only throw an additional weight over every evil, but even damp every good of this globe ;—there really is on this little ball a great deal of individual suffering, for which its dispensations afford not their immediate victims, while on it, even a tardy compensation. To many a man the storms of the day remain unsucceeded by a serene sunset ; and many wretches, in the agonies in which they lived, are made to resign their last breath, without even the glimpse of a more joyful relief on this side the grave !

And is it then possible that all that, to us, began with this globe, should to us end with this globe ? that all that matter which, from nothing perceptible, acquires an unfolding, a developement, so curious ; that, especially, all that mind which, in that matter in its turn produced, is gradually made to attain such a height, such

a luxuriance, such a beauty, should only reach its soaring eminence, at last again to sink into nothing? that after already the vegetable and the brute creation have displayed their wonders, man should still, by degrees, put forth forms and faculties infinitely more exalted, only ultimately again to be, from a somewhat greater elevation, hurled back into the abyss of nonexistence? that the vast knowledge, on this globe so gradually and through so many successive centuries of toil acquired and accumulated, should at last leave no fruit but a few crumbling ashes? Is the light thus by degrees kindled into so universal a blaze, again to end in total darkness? Shall from the prosperous the cup of bliss, when most overflowing, most savoured, most clung to, be again withdrawn, and dashed away for ever? Above all, shall those who in this world have only dragged on a miserable existence, in hopes of a better lot hereafter, at last only be summoned away from this lingering life, without prospect of brighter hours to pour a balm into the wound of past woes? Shall so many physical sufferings remain without any other cure than total extinction? shall so many friends, parents, offspring, whose loss embittered this life, remain unrestored in a happier existence? shall man, finally, when comes the time for resigning his last breath, be entitled to sigh out his being in inquiring, "Why was I, without my consent, made to be, to live, to breathe, and to suffer? Why was I, by an entity



which wanted me not for its own sake, forced into an existence to me fraught with risks, with perils, with certain sufferings, which are for ever to remain unobliterated by happier times and more felicitous feelings?" Forbid it, Heaven!

The thought of a closing so awful, so sudden, to the short drama of life, could only enter the brains of such as regard, in time and space, this small, this partial globe, as the whole of the sentient creation; as an abode round which the other stars that sparkle in the firmament only serve as ornamental studs, as brilliants, which deck out its short duration in somewhat greater splendour: or, at most, these thoughts could only be harboured by him who, admitting there are other worlds in the universe, think that ours is a distinct creation, neither dependent on any of the others, nor in its turn reacting on any of these.

But the more we contemplate, both in its internal modification and in its surrounding circumstances, this globe on which we still are doomed to crawl, the more we become convinced of the contrary; the more, in spite of the vanity or the pride which makes each individual on this clod of earth consider his individual self as the pivot on which all else in the universe turns, are we obliged to own that even the highest entity existing on this globe, singly, is but, in time and space, an atom compared with—an infinitely small component fragment of—the whole assemblage,

even only of genera and of individuals, that compose this single globe : that this globe, again, and many other surrounding planets, are individually only lesser component parts of a system of which our sun is the centre and the bond of union ; and that this very centre, and all the surrounding extremities of our system are, in their turn, only infinitely small component parts of a whole, composed of similar systems, in extent and number beyond all calculation and even power of thought, of which each part, unto the most minute, is so closely connected with, so closely acted upon by, and so closely made to react upon, each of the others, that the elements which have formed, and which increase this globe, only at first descended to it from, only at first emanated by, other globes, earlier, higher, and more central, after having for a time tarried and been combined in this world in different genera and individuals, all ultimately again, on being decomposed, being again released from their weighty but confined fetters, and made to return to their primitive state of radiance, are, in consequence of the laws of that general circulation to which all the elements of this sensible universe seem subject, made to revert to the higher globes from which they first, by force and pressure on them from within, were made to emanate.

Nay, the more we reflect, the more we are convinced that, if this peculiar globe still, in its situation, its form, and its movements, remains,

even compared with certain higher and more central parts only of this very same individual system—with its glorious sun and centre—a rude and an imperfect piece of mechanism; if every where in its interior and at its surface, it still displays, between intentions announced and effects produced—between operations begun and objects achieved—between the quantity of elements from surrounding space received, and the developements by these materials effected, a woful gap, an enormous deficiency, a tremendous falling short; if every where on this globe there still appears between the period of the first elements wanted for the combination of higher developements, and the completion of these developements, a want of time and of space, which of some productions prevents the completion, and of others, when completed, again produces the speedy dissolution; if at certain times and in certain places certain entities show the seeds of perfection at which they never arrive—which by others interfering with them they are prevented from attaining; if others again maturing earlier, and attaining that greater perfection, are condemned, the moment they have reached, to lose this perfection, by the intrusion of others of the sort still later; if of certain genera of entities, certain other different genera either higher or lower than themselves, and of certain individuals of each genus, certain other individuals of the same or of other genera again distinct from

them, nay, if in each individual of each genus, certain parts, certain forms and faculties bodily and mental, again different from other parts bodily or mental of the same individual, by collision or interference—by forestalling the room which those other elements and parts want for their completion,—cause the developement of the former to be arrested, or even, after this developement had been achieved, their dissolution again to be hastened; if of the mineral creation, the excessive exuberance long precluded, and in many places still precludes, the arising of vegetable entities; if in many other places, of mere vegetables the excessive luxuriance again long retarded, and still retards, the progress and developement of sentient entities; if of lower animated entities—of mollusca, of fish, of reptiles, of quadrupeds, of brutes—the disproportionate teeming long kept back and still restricts the developement of the human race; nay, if, of the human beings themselves, the inferior sorts still in many places remain hostile to the rise, the full expansion, of the higher sorts; if, even of the human races generically higher themselves, the lower, the more inferior individuals—those in body and in mind less gifted, in faculties less cultivated, in intellect less enlightened—still restrict the room, invade the elements, and retard the progress that might be made by the higher individuals of the same genus; if in the simplest elements, like those of heat and cold,

there often still is that excess—in the meanest modifications, like those of thorns and nettles, that form—in the minutest entities, like gnats and mosquitoes, that venom—which, without being of any use to the owners themselves, and without contributing to their own security or defence, enables them to do higher, and often to them harmless entities, a great deal of harm ; if, in the very adjustment of the peculiar means employed to attain peculiar ends, there still often appears on this globe an indirectness, an obliquity, a shuffling, a want of definiteness and precision, which frequently makes similar means answer ends very different, and as often makes the same ends be accomplished by very different means ; if, in many genera and individuals, and in these genera more in proportion as they rise higher—as each entity individually becomes composed of parts corporeal and mental more different,—so far from each part finding room for full and indefinite extension, duration, and developement, each part presents, beyond a certain point, more impediments to the further extent and developement of the other parts more numerous and varied, so that of some individuals the physical, and of others the mental faculties remain in reality more stunted than they show themselves intrinsically and abstractedly destined to be ; if, after a limited extent and a limited duration, even the collective mass of the faculties corporeal and mental of each different individual

must, for want of further room, by the rise of other later individuals of the same sort, be brought to an often premature and always unwelcome close, so that the species can only be perpetuated by new and distinct individuals, rising as their predecessors fall; nay, if this very perpetuation, this very successive rise of individuals distinct from each other, each wanting in turns, for their formation, their support, their developement, their happiness, the same elements previously possessed by these others, is the everlasting source of ever shifting misery and privation to all; if a thousand wants, dependences, cravings, and clashings, and sufferings, and sacrifices, unintentional and involuntary—or even, if intentional and voluntary, not therefore the less irksome and painful—must be endured in turns by every entity, sentient and rational, young and old, husband and wife, parent and offspring; all these imperfections, all these evils, all these drawbacks, which cannot be denied, are not effects of the intrinsic nature of any of the component elements of this globe themselves—are not such modifications as these elements must have displayed at any time, in any place, and under any combination,—are not such as they must equally have shown in earlier worlds, and must again equally show in later worlds; but that they only on this peculiar globe, and on all other globes situated like this, arise from their uneven and disproportionate combination; that the evils

and drawbacks of this world only proceed from its peculiar situation in time and space making the elements, from other earlier, higher and more central globes transmitted to its site, descend to, and meet upon, and combine in the same in a manner so indirect, oblique, ill poised, ill balanced, uneven and disproportionate, as to leave it ever subject to pressures, to influxes, to circulations, to combinations, to decombinations and to effluxes partial and disproportionate, here too early, there too late, here too great, there too small, relative to others: that from these flaws and blemishes the worlds earlier, larger, more central in time and space, more equally and proportionably from all sides and in all directions pressed and influenced, and made to return the more even pressure and emanations they received, must be exempt: that these higher and earlier and larger and more central globes must, unto their inmost core, remain a scene of ever-uninterrupted heat, light, circulation, combination, life, sensation, and thought, void of the interruption or break of genera, of individualities, and of parts distinct and separate from each other, and excluding and barring out each other's junction and intermixture; and that whenever our component elements, loosened from their earthly fetters, shall, in their radiating form, by the natural circulation to which they are destined, revert to these higher and more central and well-situated and well-

balanced worlds, they shall there be recombined only in new additions to the greater individuality of which each is composed,—be in this individuality blended with its already existing parts; and causing this individuality to be increased by the elements received from all the surrounding lesser globes by it ruled, and fraught with the faculties of sense and of intellect of all these former globes combined in their just proportion—feeling all, seeing all, knowing all that passes around, without excess and without deficiency; without ignorance, obscurity, confusion, or glare—will, not only leave it exempt from all the pains and drawbacks incidental to the secondary globes over which it presides, but will, of the events and modifications taking place on these lesser worlds, give it an insight, a knowledge, a contemplation, a retrospect and a foresight, more delightful, more unmingled with pain, than any thing we can thus far conceive.

On this very globe which we thus far inhabit, the same elements that, congregated in certain proportions relative to each other, are not yet able to be combined in any solid bodies whatever, or are only yet able to be combined in solid bodies of a more inorganic sort, are in certain other different proportions already able to be combined in solid bodies of an organic sort, merely vegetable; in certain other proportions, again different from the former ones, able to be combined in solid bodies of a sentient sort; and in certain other



proportions, again different from the former ones, in solid bodies of a thinking sort, still only brute, and in certain other proportions again different from the former ones, finally able to be combined in solid bodies of a thinking sort, even human, unto the last and highest of the human genus. On this globe however, these elements, from their being driven to it in an uneven, ill-proportioned, distinct and disconnected manner, are still only divided between and combined into a number of different individuals even of the highest genus, simultaneous and successive, each distinct and separate from each of the rest.

But on a globe in which, from its more central situation in space, the very same elements are made from all sides to meet and combine in relative proportions more even and balanced, these elements will no longer only in smaller separate portions, simultaneous and successive, be made to meet and combine in more minute and short-lived individuals simultaneous and successive, separate and distinct from each other, but all be made simultaneously or successively to meet, and to combine in portions of a single individual, more highly and perfectly organised.

Of such a higher and more central globe all the component elements simultaneous and successive will contribute to the composition of an undivided, immense, and ever enduring single individual; or, in other words, of such a higher

and more central globe all the component parts simultaneous and successive will only compose together one single undivided, unseparated entity, of which, according as it gives off, in the process of decomposition, part of its substance to other lesser surrounding worlds, the continuance will by parts of the substance from these other lesser surrounding worlds contributed, as constantly be renewed, as on this globe its lesser individualities simultaneous and successive are, each, during a less period, by successive decombinations and recombinations separately promoted. Each of these higher and more central globes may individually in its whole be considered as a single individual, composed of the concentration of the elements of millions of prior separate individuals. Consequently, while here, of the many separate individuals the separate external senses show them little, and that little very partially, so that the rest of their knowledge of the past and future is made up only of uncertain and partial inferences and generalisations of the mind, hereafter the very first impressions made on the external sense itself will be generalisations more extended, more certain, more connected and more satisfactory, affording room only for the pleasures of contemplation, and leaving no occasion for the labour of thought.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

*Objections to the individualities, in this world separate and distinct, being hereafter in a higher and more perfect world, blended and made to form a single connected whole.*

METHINKS I hear against a doctrine so new and yet so simple, so consistent with the course of nature as the one just enounced, a general outcry composed of as many separate voices as there are hitherto separate individuals, all united in one chorus.

Most people seem, from the way in which they understand certain expressions of scripture, to infer that literally at some single definite period not only the lists of life on this globe will be suddenly closed for ever, but that of all human beings from Adam forward, who have successively risen and fallen on this earth, the separate remains, however widely scattered over the globe, will again be reunited in as many individuals, distinct from each other, as they at different successive periods composed before, in order to be at sound of trumpet marshalled, and collectively transported to some other different abode.

The object of this fancied ordination seems to be, that the same bodies that have died and been dissolved, again coming to life, should receive the reward or the punishment of their prior deeds.

But as it is only by the lives of the different individuals that arise on this globe being each separately very short, compared with the general measure of time during which this globe has borne living individuals; as it has only from the first moment it was ripe for the production of any such, been peopled with different species, and has only ever after gone on producing other individuals and species, rising above the former in rank, by the elements of entities of lower species that have been decombined, again being later recombined in individuals of higher species; as it was only by the same elements in turns serving for the combination of different entities, that the materials supplied by this globe have sufficed for the combination of all the different individuals of different sorts that have been enabled successively to cover its surface, it is clear that the number of individuals, distinct and different from each other, which have thus been enabled successively to arise out of whatever quantity of elements this globe contained, could never have sufficed for the combination of so many different individuals, had they all arisen simultaneously. Had there even on this restricted

globe been room in space for the simultaneous arising of these numbers, there would not have been sufficient materials. The same cards which may serve to play a thousand different games in succession, can only serve to play a single game at once. And what in the nature of things at first was impossible, can never afterwards take place. Of all the different separate individualities that have successively arisen, in consequence only of the same elements having successively belonged to different individuals, no general resurrection at one single period can ever arise. The same elements cannot, at the same period of time, belong to different individuals, though they can in succession.

If the thing were attempted on this globe, how much of the elements first embodied in mineral, and vegetable, and inferior animal productions, all alike short of human beings, before they were ultimately again incorporated in human individuals, might again be hereafter claimed for the revival of these lower entities; and thus not leave materials enough for recombination, even in a small portion of the first human beings that arose, before, by constant reproduction, the number of human entities produced, and again decomposed, had increased to its present amount.

But supposing the claims of all individuals of genera inferior to that of man set aside, and those of human beings alone attended to; supposing

it had been decreed that the oyster, the crab, the ox and the ass, the beast and the bird, once dead, whatever good or bad luck might have attended them during life, should never live again to receive some compensation for past mishaps ; supposing that of the crab roasted alive in his shell, of the goose made over a hot fire to die of a liver complaint, the account of sufferings should ever remain unsettled ; supposing that all the elements of life that had successively passed through all those inferior entities before they subsided in man, should all be reserved for the resurging of man alone ; and supposing even that in man individually the very same elements should continue embodied without further change during the whole span of his individual existence, how little would even then, of the materials prepared for the combination of man, remain for the simultaneous resurging of all the human entities, of which different portions had only before been enabled to arise, by rising in successive lots, by a part thereof later inheriting the goods and wearing the garments of their predecessors : and how much less a portion would still remain, if, as can be proved to be the case, in each individual, from the first moment of his formation to the last moment of his dissolution, by a constant influx and circulation of new elements, and exit of old ones, the same elements may, even during the

life of their respective owners, have successively belonged to a number of different individuals.

Each human individual would, for the recombination of his own single whole, have singly to claim, at each successive period of his existence, what, at different periods, not only before his birth and subsequent to his decease, but during his very life, has successively belonged perhaps to millions of other human beings, in turn breathing the same air, and absorbing the same elements with himself.

Each would thus singly, if he did not acquire what he had a right to, labour under a prodigious deficiency; or, if what he had a right to only successively, he thus acquired at a single period, labour under as great an exuberance and superfluity, and leave others to labour under a proportionate deficiency and want. Each would thus, by the attempt to collect in one single continued period of time and portion of space, what had before been spread over many portions of time and space different from each other, have at once too much and too little. The more some, at a single period, received of all that successively had belonged to different entities, the more these other different entities would remain deprived of their due. The disproportions already existing on this globe as it at present stands, in the physical possessions of different individuals of the same species, would be still infinitely in-

creased. Some who already had had too much, would still obtain infinitely more ; and others, who already had had too little, would still have infinitely less. Were we inclined to make merry on a subject so serious, we might describe the arms and legs, the ears and noses, that might be singly claimed by a number of different individuals.

And besides the additional inconveniences, conflicts, and sufferings of a physical sort, what additional sufferings of a moral description infinitely more dire would not arise out of this new partition of rights and properties, more unequal, more disproportionate than the worst that could have taken place before ! How many dispensations which, according to the present ordination of things, through distance of place and time have their asperities smoothed and blended, would then start up side by side in their harshest crudity ! Husbands who before had had more than one wife, wives who had had more than one husband,—but in succession, at long intervals of time, and under circumstances which suffered the duties owing to their first partner to remain compatible with those owing to the last ;—fathers who had had children, children who had succeeded to their fathers, in such a gradual way, that the different claims and duties of each age and situation—the care and tenderness owing by parents to their offspring, and the respect and



gratitude by offspring due to their parents,—might be conciliated, that each might give and take what was proper to his respective situation, when they all rose again side by side upon the same level, and with equal pretensions: similar in age, in size, in strength, in demands, and in expectations: how many disappointments, privations, sacrifices and sufferings would they not then experience, not even conceived in the present successive and graduated state of developement of each individual, in which some are from the natural effects of time ready and willing to give up certain claims, at the period when others are prepared to enforce them. How many new and unheard of clashings and conflicts would not thence ensue! unless, indeed, by each individual losing all recollection of times past, by having all thread with a prior existence entirely broken, all consciousness of that identity with an anterior being, for the preservation of which so many difficulties had been encountered and overcome, were entirely obliterated; and it no longer signified whether each was the continuation of a peculiar former individual, or a new individual wholly different.

It would be impossible to set or to foresee any limits to the difficulties, the drawbacks, the evils which would arise out of an ordination, by which all the rules of physics, and thus also all those of metaphysics, in their turn again founded on

the former, and without adverting to which we cannot reason, would be subverted, which would arise from the attempt to make that which has only been able to exist at all, by existing in succession, exist simultaneously.

Each individual who on this globe has had an existence of a certain duration—who has not been stifled in his cradle—being in the impossibility of being hereafter at any one single period of time reinstated in all the conditions, physical and mental, some very different from others, which he has experienced in succession during his long life, seems at least, at the future period when he is to be judged on all his past actions, if judged at all, to have the right of being reinstated in the circumstances of the period which shall appear most favourable to himself; in which he shall have least to account for, and most to demand; in which he was burthened with fewest demerits, and had acquired most claims.

How shall this period of time and place be adjusted by himself? or, if he has no right to make a choice in his own case,—if he is to be reinstated in some peculiar period pointed out for him,—how is that period even by his impartial Judge to be settled? Is he to resurge as he was in his earliest infancy, and before he had been able to incur any faults, and also before he had been able to found any claims? is it to be in the vigour of manhood, when most of his virtues

and his vices, his good and his bad deeds, have come to full maturity? or is it to be in his decrepitude, when he may again have repented of many of his past misdemeanors, or have lost the faculties of body and of mind necessary to incur fresh faults and frailties? If a peculiar average period be chosen, those who have not reached that period may complain of partiality in the judgment pronounced on their future lot; and those who, having reached it, have since much improved or much deteriorated, must be judged with equal partiality. The more different conditions an individual has successively experienced, the more will he, in his return to any one of these in particular, have just reasons for complaining of not having been reinstated in another.

Thus far the difficulties only apply to those, if such there be, who have not been born with some peculiar bias, bodily or mental, to whose undue and unbalanced inclination they have ever after remained subject.

But such individuals, perhaps, do not exist on this globe. If not all its productions, at least a great number, and a greater proportion, according as, belonging to higher genera, and peculiarly to the human species, they are each individually composed of substances, organs, and faculties, bodily and mental, more varied, more complex, more standing in each other's way, are, in con-

sequence of remote hereditary causes, from their very birth condemned to arise, and ever after to live, individually curtailed of a portion of the substances, or forms, or faculties that should generically have belonged to them, and have checked those which they have received.

Their bodily constitution is not in all its parts perfectly balanced, and exerts some evil influence over the constitution of their mind; leaves them all their lifetime more prone to some peculiar passion or weakness, than is consistent with a perfect equipoise of impulses, actions, and behaviour; renders them the unwilling slaves to the sway of some preponderating force, with which they cannot contend, which they cannot master. Are these individuals hereafter to be all reinstated in what they had of excessive, of inadequate, of evil, mixed with the good which was combined in their frame of body and of mind, and which of that good checked and prevented the full extension and development? are they without any fault of their own, hereafter as well as here, to remain incomplete and defective? are they to supply themselves with what they wanted before, only by robbing of their own those other individuals more bountifully gifted than themselves? or is there to be in store a certain quantity of thus far still unappropriated elements, out of which each individual may help himself to what he wants, in order to

make up his personal deficiencies ; and thus, while some only are able to display dearly purchased merits, are others to be assisted in gaining bounties, by wearing feathers not their own ?

I see no possibility of the modifications which in the present ordination have only been dealt out to individuals in slow succession, being in a second existence dealt out to certain of them at once and simultaneously, except by still increasing infinitely the disproportion which must exist between the lot of these individuals and that of others : and miserable as is at present the situation of many, if all the deficiencies, all the exuberances, all the imperfections, all the evils, all the confusion, and all the drawbacks which have befallen us successively, were to come upon us hereafter simultaneously, and in immediate presence and contact with each other, man, instead of experiencing a nearer approximation to heaven, would only in every respect launch deeper into hell.

Fortunately analogy, not of that narrow description—for in analogy, as in every thing else, there are degrees—which is only founded on a short period of time, on a restricted measure of space, and on a confined range of modifications, but of that enlarged sort, which takes in long periods of time, vast ranges of space, and vast variety of objects, gives us room to conjecture that the elements emitted by this globe, when

in another more extensive roomy and central world they are again made to meet, and to recombine, will not be recombined in the short and multifarious separate individualities to which they have been restricted by the narrow limits of this globe.

Every thing we see, and reflect upon, informs us, that already, even on this globe, as time advances, and space extends, from points in time and place more distant, elements more varied are made to meet, and to combine in individuals of genera singly in their bodily and mental forms and faculties higher, and concentrating in them more of the forms and faculties, which in earlier genera had only been divided between a greater number of separate and distinct individuals and genera; and we therefore may *a fortiori* expect, that in a future world, wider than this, and in which from more distant quarters more different elements must concentrate, this gradual concentration of genera, and of individuals of each genus, will still infinitely increase: that when of the confined genera and individuals, simultaneous and successive, distinct and separate from each other in time and in space, which on this globe, in small measures of space, and during short measures of time, separately appear and again disappear, the elements, when in a world more roomy, and which can afford them more time and more space, they are

on all sides from a greater distance, with less interference and impediment, again recombined, all the distinct individualities which here, by having what belongs to each genus still intermixed with what belongs, not to that same genus, but to some other different genus, still remain, will entirely cease to exist: that there each individual, singly composed of all the elements of each genus, unimpeded and undiminished by those belonging to any other genera, will have all its forms and faculties united in a higher and less modified degree; that there no room or materials will any longer be left for the combination into individuals and genera of lower descriptions; and that of the higher entities, of man, the genus or individual, placed in a higher sphere, in a more central situation, and endowed with higher faculties, of what is here too distant in time and space, to be otherwise than indirectly and confusedly, and amid a thousand gaps, ignorances, obscurities and errors, presented to the sense, or even to be at most here only still more dimly and uncertainly suspected by the inferences and abstractions of the mind, the very external sense itself will hereafter have already a long and wide, immediate, and clear perception: that then, like a nut, which by degrees develops and expands, the human brain itself will, by the further developement of its organs, no longer remain the instrument of

mere inferences and surmises, but, through dint of the real uninterrupted connexion of all internal objects and modifications, then first seen and first recognised, first become the organ of direct perceptions of external objects even the most remote in time and in place; and will then, in the delightful contemplation of the most distant changes and movements of the universe, expand its further existence. And in the probability of this sort of future state, by analogy to the condition of things past promised, we are by the very words of scripture borne out.

To my apprehension scripture states, that those who here die shall hereafter resurge both in body and in mind; that is to say, shall hereafter receive, as they had here possessed, a material form, to be the medium of their impressions of sense and of mind; and, in fact, we cannot any more hereafter than we can here fancy any consciousness of existence to continue, which shall not rest on certain impressions, received from those modifications of matter of which we are formed. There may exist in nature modifications wholly different from any of those we are acquainted with; but those we do not know, we cannot reason upon.

But at the same time that scripture promises us bodies, it assures us, that in a future existence those bodies shall be glorified. We may thence infer that, more perfect than our pre-



sent bodies in all their organs of sense and of intellect, they will, of the past and present which act upon us, and through the medium of which we are made, by their connexion with the future, to foresee that future, necessarily arising out of the past, also of that future receive a knowledge more ample, and distinct, and connected, and clear, and minute, and void of partial ignorance, error, opacity and gaps, than we do at present: that those bodies shall no longer in their retrospect and in their foresight—in their knowledge of time, of place, and of all else that in these attributes is contained,—be restrained, impeded, stopped by the partial obscurities, opacities, ignorances, and illusions which here below suffer impressions of sense and of mind only to reach us from short, and limited, and partial distances; that the impressions, the means of knowledge that may, from each individual in particular have been made to proceed, shall no longer be checked, be impeded, be interfered with, or be obstructed, by the impressions departing from another different individual; that all entities shall alike of all else around them receive an impression, a knowledge.

How can this take place?—how can each entity singly be endowed with the sight—the susceptibility—of the impressions of objects, movements and changes more extended, more distant, more minute, and more distinct, necessary for

this purpose, except by the separate individualities which here, at every step, check and impede the impressions sent forward, and fill them with dimness and confusion, and prevent them from reaching us, altogether ceasing? except by each entity seeing, knowing, what each other different entity does, and sees, and knows? by each entity still being, with every other different entity, part of the same collective individual?

This exemption from the imperfections, in the present world arising from the great number of individualities simultaneous and successive, each singly partial and limited in time and space, and each necessarily more or less interfering with the wants and desires of the others, which must, in a higher world, be the consequence of their elements being all blended in one single great individual, of which necessarily all the various component parts must harmonize and tend to the same end—this union of all the various interests, views, desires, actions, &c. of each part in one single common whole, already implied in the expression of a body glorified—is still alluded to more directly where it is said, that in a future state there will be no marriage, no giving in marriage: since that single sentence implies the absence, the suppression not only of all prior separation, and all subsequent forced reunion of sexes, but of all the other differences, and disparities, and relationships of hus-

band and wife, of parent and offspring, of old and young, and all others, which on this globe cause such conflicts, and, even when people love each other most, such painful sacrifices of personal interests and wishes, to those of the object beloved. The sympathy which we already feel with certain of our fellow-creatures, and which makes us regard their interests, their concerns, their joys and their sorrows as our own, is only a foretaste of the common feelings we shall then have to a much greater extent, but with this difference—that whereas here we often only find our pains increased by those of others, we shall thereafter only find our happiness enhanced by that of all around.

After all difference of rank and of situation has been levelled by the grave, the earlier disparity which formerly existed in this respect can no longer be supposed to have any weight, and to produce any reluctance to the blending of the elements of different individuals: but at first sight the later difference of character, of disposition, might, to our present imagination, even then offer in the mixing a something repugnant. What! mix up together the elements of a Nero and a Socrates, of a Lucretia and a Messalina! On a more minute estimate of the circumstances, even this objection vanishes. In the present state of things we may often incorporate in our person the elements that have been previously

embodied in the dregs of humanity, in the brute, the vegetable, the inorganic entity. Does this thought, for a single moment, disturb our rest? and will it do so after in ourselves the greater distance of life and death has intervened? will it do so after the elements of those that here below have erred are recombined in such a mode as not only to purify them of all former taint, but to make them abhor their former weaknesses?

All that I have here said and surmised is founded on the supposition that the fundamental attributes of the creation, time and space, are to continue. Undoubtedly we must believe that he who could create, can also again annihilate these attributes, and stop their course and current. But of what might still be left between the Creator and us, if these first barriers that separate the two were removed, we know not; we cannot discourse. All our arguments are founded on the existence of time and space.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

*Further arguments against the opinion of individualities being hereafter blended.*

THE doctrine held forth in the last chapter may be objected to, because, by its making the component elements of all the different individuals, first on this globe separately combined, and next again decombined, in another place be re-combined in proportions more even and more balanced, it makes the individuals, out of these elements re-combined, all end by being wise, and good, and happy ; and leaves no room or occasion for punishment and correction.

Let us see in how far this objection seems founded. When first man in a state of nature sees a thing which he covets, no matter where found, he tries to convert it to his use. His first wish is that of self-indulgence : of gratifying the feelings of the only person he is well acquainted with. Consulting the desires of another person more distant, and of whom he knows less, in whose feelings he can less enter ; sacrificing to these the feelings that are his own, that he personally experiences, is a thing of which

he has no idea, which does not occur to him. He has no thought of committing an injustice, of deserving a punishment, by acting as he does.

Again, when in his turn attacked by a ravenous brute, though he defends himself, though he tries to kill that brute, in order to protect himself from his fangs, he seeks only to put that brute out of the way, not to punish him : he knows that brute, like himself, only seeks self-gratification—seeks not to injure another.

When another man covets any thing the first man possesses, and seeks to take it from him, he equally defends himself—equally tries to prevent that other man from doing him any harm. But when he has not at first succeeded, when he has received some injury, he at least, as soon as he attains the power, seeks to prevent the repetition of the offence, in the author, or seeks to deter others from following his example, by inflicting on him for the injury done a penalty, a punishment.

Hence the first idea of revenge and of punishment. It is only out of the right of self-defence which every man arrogates to himself; it is only out of his weakness, which prevents his exerting that right in full before any mischief has been done him, that he derives the right of punishing afterwards for the mischief done. It is a right resulting from his temporary weakness.

Not trusting altogether to his own power of

punishing, he inlists his God in his cause, threatens his adversary, not only with his own punishments here, but, if these do not suffice to deter that other from doing evil, with those of his God hereafter.

These are the ideas which in man have first produced that of human justice ; and have next, in order to strengthen its power, added to it that of divine justice.

But when man, by the extension of his intellect, has come to understand that his God is an entity wholly unassailable to his shafts ; an entity exerting over him an unmodified sway ; the Author, not only of all his actions, but of all his wishes and thoughts, since these thoughts first proceed from sensations of external modifications produced prior to man ; that the Author of man's every wish and thought has, for purposes best known to himself, for a time permitted, or rather compelled man—for in the Author of all that happens permitting is forcing—to harbour evil intentions even toward himself ; that God thus must be equally pleased with man's vain attempts against him as with those in his favour ; sure that they can do him no harm ; that they can only go on while he pleases ; that, having first made them arise, he can again put them down at his will, and when they have done answering his purpose, man can no longer in that Almighty Being suppose, for punishing him, any of the

motives which he himself may, in his weakness, have for punishing another man.

Mark that I only here inquire how ideas of justice, of human retribution, come by man to be applied to God : how man, while he thought not his God almighty, and in all respects different from his creatures, might attribute to God motives for punishing him, like those he himself has for punishing other men. I only here wish to prevent the motives, which can only arise from the weakness of the creature, from being by man's short-sightedness attributed to the Almighty Creator. God forbid that I should seem to judge his actions or motives ! he may have reasons for making a certain portion of his creatures for a time be miserable, even hereafter, as he has made them be so here ; but I only maintain that he cannot do so for reasons as yet known to, as yet conceivable by us, as yet comprehensible to our weak, shallow, short-sighted judgment.

I know very well that man, who is apt to complain of want of freedom of action, when he is made involuntarily to perform that which causes him immediate pain—because there is a direct opposition and conflict, a direct friction and resistance, between the impulse and current of his will, and that of the actions he performs in opposition to it—is not apt to complain of similar want of freedom of action, when he is made to perform an action which is the result



of his own will, even where that action shall more distantly be to him a source of pain. I know very well that man often believes his actions to be free, whatever be their result, as long as they arise out of his own prior will, especially when that will itself is only finally made up, in consequence of his having, between different schemes presented to his imagination, chosen the one he thinks the best; when that will is only the consequence of what he calls his option;—I know very well that the immediate pleasure he feels in doing what his inclination leads him to do, prevents, on the one hand, his foreseeing the pain he may at a later period derive from the measure desired not proving beneficial, and prevents, on the other hand, his reflecting on the thoughts and sensations occurring prior to any will of his being made up, in which the will to do the peculiar thing done first originated; because he confounds the option between doing the one or the other of a certain limited number of things, which may present themselves to his circumscribed imagination, with the condition of being free in his thoughts themselves, of having the power to think and to desire whatever is best; because he mistakes the power of doing the single thing he wills, for the power of willing any thing that may be good; because he feels glad at first to do any thing which affords a gratifying flow and current from his mind within to his

organs of action without ; which does not occasion a painful conflict and friction between the one and the other ; because he thinks where he does a thing with pleasure he does it with freedom. But his freedom is only that of the man who, irresistibly impelled to slide down a precipice, meets nothing in his way to break his fall. Shall we say that he who only has his choice between a dagger and a cup of poison is free to live ?

Even in acting only in consequence of the longest option, the most continued suspense, the most mature deliberation, man still only has the power of voluntarily doing, among a certain number of different opposite things first presented to his imagination, a single one. He can still at last only choose one among a certain number of things which he must previously have had the power of conceiving ; and we know how much even in those who are supposed, with the greatest latitude of action, to have the greatest latitude of thought, and the amplest means to make a judicious choice, their ignorance, their errors, their prejudices, their feelings, arising independent of and being uncontrollable by their will, shackle their choice, and set barriers to their power of volition. We cannot say that he who after the longest suspense, the most mature deliberation, still continues irresolute and unable to make up his will, wrings his hands, and cries out, what

shall I do? what resolve upon? what will? is free in his will, in his volition.

Even the option which proceeds most from the knowledge of different contending circumstances, and of the advantages which must result from weighing those circumstances, from mature deliberation, from the volition, the desire to take that option, can themselves only gradually proceed in a circle from thoughts and sensations experienced prior to our will, which first cause that will, which only arise out of external impulses, over which we have no control, and which cannot leave us free to will what we choose, even when we do what we desire. Every will, every thought productive of a will, must have prior to it, and as its parent, a sensation, of which the first, those productive of all the later, are involuntary, and arise from causes outside us and independent of us; and how can we be said to have a free will, when our will depends on thoughts, on sensations, all in their turn depending on impressions which, in the first instance, depend not on ourselves?

Infants have sensations before they have thoughts, thoughts before they have wills, wills destitute of deliberation, of option, before they have wills only formed on mature deliberation. The latter species of wills in many entities arise not at all. In many they arise only very feebly. But in whatever degree may arise the later and

better wills, formed in consequence of more deliberate reflection and choice, which may correct the senseless impulses of a prior and more precipitate will, they still originally, like the first unreflected will itself, arise out of thoughts and sensations, of which the first were experienced independent of any will of our own.

The will which makes us suspend our first impulse to act, till among several modes of acting which present themselves to our mind, we have chosen the one that to us appears best,—the knowledge that such a previous suspense ultimately leads to actions more fitted for our welfare,—are only the later effects and produce of many prior sensations, first resulting from actions resolved upon and executed without any prior suspense, deliberation, option. All men begin, as I have said, in infancy, by willing, in consequence of the impulse of sensations and thoughts destitute of deliberation, of option: and only by degrees, through the sensations and thoughts they are thus made to receive without deliberation, are made by degrees in a less or greater measure to seek the advantages of deliberation.

There is not more liberty in the voluntary actions—in the will of the man who has longest thought, longest reflected, longest remained in suspense before he acts—than there is in the man who, like the brute, most immediately acts in consequence of his first impulse and feeling:

the act of the latter, like that of the former, is an act of implicit submission to impulses given him without his prior leave.

The difference only consists in this, that the brute, and the man in whom reason is not yet matured, are by the first sensation and desire immediately impelled to action, and that the man of mature reason feels a hundred different contradictory springs from one side impel him to action, and from the other side prevent him from acting, before at last one of these springs, more powerful than the rest, predominates, and gives the final impulse; but these different impulses, of which the strongest at last predominates, leave him ultimately as little at liberty in his actions as the brute. The man who, with a knife held to his throat, deliberates whether he shall be murdered or commit a crime, cannot be called free.

Even he who, with wants, appetites or cravings so strong that to resist them makes him suffer immediate and excessive torments, has only, to counterbalance these present sufferings, the weak, dim and vague prospect of the evils less certain and more distant, which may in a future world result from their indulgence, is free just as little. His foresight of the future evils that may check the indulgence of his present appetite, has less power to restrain him than the vision of the present happiness that must accompany its gratification has power to goad him on.

As to the man who could wish out of mere wantonness to offend his God, his Maker, without thinking he thereby did himself any good, he can only be a man out of his senses, irresponsible for his thoughts and actions. But whatever evil a man in his senses may wish to do another man, can only be from the idea of deriving therefrom some self-gratification; of reaping from this evil some personal benefit. He only acts from that motive which God himself has first instilled in all men, that of seeking their own good. If he does not yet know that the means of attaining this end most extensively and most lastingly consist in promoting the welfare of others, this ignorance is the effect of his circumstances, his situation, his involuntary sensations, for which he cannot be held responsible to his Maker, however much he may, for his own security himself, guard against the effect of similar errors in other men. Even if he has sought the truth, and has not yet found it, the fault is not his.

After thus having stated that the reasons, given by man for rendering on this imperfect globe the use of punishments between himself and other weak imperfect men, legitimate, cannot apply to God in a more perfect world, I shall waste no time in setting forth, that even if such punishments hereafter at the hands of God could be admitted, the infant who had been prevented from falling, only by the favour of the destiny

that cut him off too soon, and the elder who on the contrary had fallen only from being left to live too long, would equally be found, according to human views and ideas, to complain of the partiality of Providence: that there would be infinite difficulty to settle, according to human ideas of justice and injustice, by one act, and in consequence of a single line at one instant drawn for ever, the claims to reward and the degrees of punishment deserved for infinitely varied shades of successive good and bad actions; that there would be a great risk of making sympathy with a man's sufferings in hell imbitter all the happiness of his more virtuous friends and relations lodged in heaven, and the more as from greater knowledge we entered more extensively into the feelings of all else around us, and that, as, according to our present knowledge, pain like pleasure can only be continued in time, punishments fixed beforehand to be eternal cannot be conceived; since it always remains in the power of the Almighty to recall them.

Indeed, if we were permitted to pursue human reasonings on subjects beyond the scope of human intellect, and to apply such to God, perhaps we might think that God, having been able to render us at once perfect, good and happy, and having begun by making us imperfect, and consequently unhappy, has dealt hardly by us; but even in this respect we shall probably hereafter,

when perhaps, knowing more, we shall find our very temporary sufferings a source of joy more intense and more lasting, rectify our present erroneous reasonings; meantime resting assured, that even in this world, the more we know, the more we acquire the means of good and happiness.

It may perhaps be asked, why, if a man's will be not free, argue with him? why hopelessly seek to produce in him an inclination to what is good? I say, precisely because his will is not free; because it is swayed by his conviction of the soundness of the arguments he hears; because it necessarily bends to what is held out to it as most attractive; because the chance of making it incline to good is thence full of hope; because, if by sensations and thoughts, first conceived independent of my will, I have first myself been convinced, whether I chose or not, that the road to good is the way to happiness, I must in my turn, as soon as I have acquired the power of making others understand my reasons, also have acquired the faculty of making those others irresistibly conceive a similar expectation of the effects of good, and a similar wish for its propagation; because the impulses I have received, though I cannot help, I may in my turn transmit to others; and thereby influence their minds, as others have before influenced mine.



Perhaps, it may be observed, that I take the wrong method of effecting my purpose, at least in this world, by my arguments for removing the dread of man being, for the evil deeds done here, punished in a world to come.

But as long as people, naturally inclined to evil, fear not to incur, for the sins committed, the more proximate and certain punishments inflicted even here by man himself, they are seldom deterred from crime by the idea of the punishments, more vague, more uncertain, more remote, threatened, in the name of God, in a world to come. People, by their disposition too much alive to the temptation of evil here, or too callous yet to the idea of the penalties thereby incurred hereafter, seldom in the fear of the latter find a counterpoise to the allurements of the former. Inquire of the greatest criminal, and we will in general find that, the moment the apprehension of temporal punishment is removed, the fear of eternal punishment sits light upon him: he hopes he still shall have time to buy these distant threats off.

On the contrary, as soon as people no longer have a preponderating inclination to evil; as soon as already, by the rewards that attend virtue even in this world—the esteem, the confidence, the good-will of their fellow-creatures—they are inclined, even on this globe, to prefer good to evil, the fear of punishment awaiting them here-

after for every trivial fault or error here committed, even unintentionally, by constantly haunting their mind, is only apt to give them a timorous conscience, and to make them hesitate in doing the good in their power, for fear of unintentionally doing the evil they strive to avoid. We see many men who, unfortunately for themselves atheists in their creed, still from mere love of order, of peace, and of the wise rules established by society, are in their conduct most honest and most irreproachable; and we see many others who, sincere Christians at bottom, are nevertheless in their deeds and conduct paltry and pusillanimous subjects.

But whether in publishing this work I was right or have erred, it is only my judgment which has erred. I have neither been deficient in will to do good, nor have I spared the pains necessary to know how to do it. So far from myself founding on any part of my doctrine a licence to relax my principles, I have felt that the further I pursued my theme, the straiter became the shackles which bound my conscience. I may say that in the progress of my work I have eradicated many a vindictive feeling, fostered many a good impulse. If I have not with others all the success I have had with myself, it must have been for want of knowledge, of abilities, not of good intention.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

*Characteristics natural and acquired of some of the higher human races.*

THE principal task which I had proposed to myself at the commencement of this work is now achieved. I have conducted man in general, from his origin, birth, development and death here below, as I hope, to his revival hereafter, in a happier world. In doing so, I have not dwelt upon the distinctive peculiarities of the different human races, pre-eminent in different ages and countries. As, however, in the course of my investigation I have been led to collect a few of the characteristic features that mark certain of the higher nations of the ancient and the modern world, I may, I think, give some additional interest to my work by subjoining these here.

Time, however, begins to run short: my hour-glass empties fast. Obligated to hold myself in readiness for my own no longer very distant departure from this irksome scene of bustle and disquiet, I shall not tarry long on the detail of these incidental contemplations. I shall, even

to some nations sufficiently remarkable in the annals of the world, only devote a few lines, and shall become somewhat less concise only as I approach nearer to some of the more mixed races, which on all sides surround us more closely.

On the faculties physical and intellectual of the Malays, who inhabit the south-eastern shores and islands of Asia, nay, on the Monguls, who rove over its higher and more central table lands, I shall not expatiate; I shall only bestow a few words on those more extreme ramifications of the latter stock eastward, named Chinese and Japanese. I shall act in the same way further westward respecting the Hindoos and the Egyptians of old: those eternal themes of endless writers, which it is not easy to handle afresh without producing complete satiety.

Laplace mentions the Chinese as possessing the most ancient observations of which any use can be made in astronomy. He states the eclipses recorded by them as proving that science to have been cultivated in China more than two thousand years before the Christian era. I am not sufficiently versed in the knowledge of the heavens to investigate what pretended observations of an earlier date the Chinese may only later have arrived at, merely by the easy process of calculating from real phenomena, watched at a later period, their way backward. I can only say, that having gained credit so early for so much know-

ledge, the little comparative progress they have since made in science is truly astonishing. They seem in reality only to have exchanged the original rudeness of man for a mere external polish, not the result of spontaneous developements produced by an energy of force from within, but only effected by the mere external contact and friction with other nations, fraught with greater natural powers—perhaps with the Japanese, who seem a ramification of the same race, by nature itself more highly endowed.

With whatever other nation, more exalted than themselves, an early connexion may have given the natives of China their external gloss, it only serves more strongly to mark their internal hollowness. They labour under that radical vis inertiae which, at whatever height the impelling force is withdrawn, leaves modifications in a lifeless state, equally incapable of further advancement, and safe from rapid retrogradation. Their decline has been as slow, as gradual as their progress. When by the failure of their instructors left abandoned to their own resources, they remained at a complete stand-still, and only exhibited the phenomenon of a nation, early taught beyond its years, which never comes to maturity, and long tires the world by its lasting imbecility. They sport a set of social forms, of inventions of art and science, each singly very refined, but each unconnected with the rest: neither retain

any remembrance of the steps by which they had attained so early an eminence, nor show any symptoms of further progress. All their acquirements betray those gaps and discrepancies which must ever remain perceptible, where civilization is not the result of natural vigour of intellect, but only that of successive importations from foreign climes. The Chinese, destitute of those connecting links between the different arts and sciences, observable where they all arise from a single indigenous stock, have not even been able, in spite of some very ingenious traditional rubrics which from time immemorial they retain, afterwards to blend together their desultory and detached traditions by some subsequent artificial cement into a connected body of knowledge. Totally helpless, totally incapable of using their own science to advantage, they seem a nation, not from a state of gradual elevation again as gradually declining, but a nation who, suddenly raised to a certain height, are there struck with, and fixed by, an irremediable palsy. Elate with all the pride of the steps they once achieved in civilization, all strength to make a single further stride has forsaken them.

A part of the sudden torpor which appears to have overspread their intellect may perhaps have been owing to the imperfections of their idiom. In the Chinese language the audible

signs of ideas that speak to the ear have not themselves in their turn, as in other languages, by a gradual extension of the same process, produced the visible signs that speak to the eye. These latter are not a second-hand representation of the former. Written words in Chinese have no immediate relation to spoken words; and often the latter are very different in provinces in which the former are the same. Remaining in great measure symbolical, their written characters to this day continue so numerous and so intricate, that the time employed in acquiring the mere vehicles requisite for conveying the few ideas they possess, leaves no leisure for extending and combining the ideas themselves: that words, instead of facilitating the circulation of thoughts, seem often among the Chinese only to embarrass their current, to arrest their flow. But the very defects in their means of expression argue a deficiency in the scope of the mind, which could leave them so permanently unremedied.

The effect has been, that the Chinese, perhaps in early periods of the globe looked upon as precocious children, perfect before their time, have for the last twenty centuries remained little better than effete and imbecile dotards; still sporting their leading-strings; still poring over their spelling-books; still cherishing a government so truly paternal, and so suiting its corrections to the capacities of its subjects, as to inflict on the highest mandarin, when im-

perfect in his letters, the punishment of children. When well-behaved they are permitted to sport a peacock's feather; but when in disgrace, a crowquill announces their degradation.

The feature most remarkable in the Celestial Empire is the age it has attained without a national worship: for such it cannot be said to possess. The prevailing doctrine, that of Fohi, is only followed by insulated sects, and the members of the government have not an established common creed; a circumstance, in an empire so immense and so compact, from which might be drawn inferences useful in the regulation of other states. No doubt China owes much of its stability to its mass, and to the weakness of surrounding powers. Yet it has been overwhelmed by its Mongul neighbours; but strange to say, the conquerors have assimilated with the conquered, instead of changing their institutions.

The sole universal worship in China is that of Etiquette. A minute and punctilious observance of the rules of the most absurd ceremonial stands in lieu of religion, of science and of virtue. Every form is surrounded by its fetters, every movement impeded by its trammels. The circulation of the saps is not more checked by iron wires in the vessels of their dwarf trees, or that of the blood in the feet of their females, than is, by unremitting attention to received formalities, that of ideas in the minds of their gravest characters.



From the Chinese pass we over to the Egyptians, a nation as early, but of shorter duration, with whom they have frequently been compared.

In any country the spontaneous produce of the soil, starting up at every crevice, breaking forth from every spot, can scarcely be repressed, be concealed. It will make its way into daylight, and will with difficulty be rendered the monopoly only of a greedy few, envying the rest of the population its riches. Different is the case with exotics, imported as a rarity, where these exclusive attainments can enable their possessors to rule the remainder of the nation. This the priesthood did in Egypt. The sounder doctrine they had borrowed from the east remained carefully concealed in the recesses of their temples, while the people at large were abandoned to the grossest superstition. Lest each man should adopt the calling for which nature and his situation fitted him best, the nation was divided into castes, and each profession hemmed in by a barrier, shutting out all chance of emulation and improvement from within. The horror of the sea and the seclusion of the deserts that surrounded the land of Egypt equally proved a bar to all improvement from without: and while other nations advanced, Egypt only experienced a corresponding decline. In its indestructible monuments and in its in-

corruptible mummies, ancient Egypt seems to have had in view to typify the *vis inertiae* which was attempted to render every thing stationary, and destitute either of advancement or of retrogradation.

The Hindoos, kneaded of a somewhat finer clay, cast in a somewhat superior mould, than either the Chinese or the Egyptians, prodigiously slender in their forms and supple in their articulations, have, according to Dr. Pater-son of Calcutta, skulls by one-third less in capacity than those of most European nations. They seem very callous in their feelings both of body and of mind. Not only they behold unmoved the sufferings of their wives, parents and offspring, but from superstitious motives inflict on their own persons tortures of which Europeans could not endure the long agony. Their vulgar creed every where is a farrago of the most revolting absurdities: among these, we however trace the doctrine of a Trinity, which has some features of similarity with our own.

So vast a tract of country, however, contains tribes immensely distant and varied in their organization both physical and mental: in their manners, morals, characters, and dispositions.

The Nutts or Basigars, in their idleness, aversion to all regulated industry, and indifference to religion, resemble and probably in some of their ramifications gave rise to that refuse of society,

which afterwards in shoals, athwart the Straits of Constantinople on the eastern, and those of Gibraltar on the western side, entered Europe; and under the name of Egyptians or Gipsies,—that of the last country different from their original home, in which they seem to have made a long residence,—to this day still astonish England with the display of their eastern forms and complexions, habits and manners.

The Rajpoots, as unbending as the former are flexible, distinguish themselves by the energy of their character and the firmness and hardihood of their disposition: and the Sikhs, who every day with their conquests extend their creed, equally scouting the polytheism of the vulgar, and the Trinity of the Brahmins, disseminate over a great part of India a pure and unmixed theism.

In or near India seems to have been the earliest focus of much of the civilization, and of many of the arts, that have since spread more eastward and westward. Many words of European languages seem derived from the Sanscrit. To India we moreover owe our numerical characters; and in India many arts and sciences, since revived in Europe, have been practised in very early periods. Did the Indians first invent these? or rather, as is most probable, were the northern provinces of Persia, after the deluge which overwhelmed the incipient rudiments of human civilization, the first cradle

where they afresh dawned? Did after that deluge, beginning with the waters pent up in the table lands of Tartary, which broke through their barriers, overwhelmed Asia and Europe, and only subsided in the vast ocean, in the regions in which Noah's ark first saw land, and struck the ground, the first return to civilization and the arts of life take place?

Of Arabia the most central tribes never perhaps extended their roving beyond the limits of their native deserts. To this day, their race remains in their impenetrable fastnesses pure and unadulterated. Only at their outskirts did their overflowings mix with and spread over surrounding regions. They generally exhibit features small, shrivelled and depressed, forms meagre and stunted, complexions adust, hair coarse and scant. Regarding their right of property to whatever surrounds them as intact until expressly renounced, they live a predatory life among themselves, and stand in respect to strangers in the light of robbers and of thieves, till these have thrown themselves on their mercy, and made it worth their while to use them gently. When once the compact is closed, it is religiously adhered to, and their hospitality only finds bounds in their means.

To their wives, children, comrades, domestic animals, and whatever is their own, they are strongly attached. They live under the lax

control of hereditary sheicks or chiefs. Their worship originally was that of the heavenly bodies, called from the Arab word *sabiyé*, or host, *sabeism*. They seem to have been given credit for intellectual powers beyond their deserts. When their later descendants filled the thrones of Bagdad and Cairo, and founded the schools of Damascus and Grenada, it was under the tuition of the Greeks of Constantinople. These people of a higher race remained to the last their teachers in mathematics, in medicine, in astronomy, in philosophy, and in whatever abstract sciences the Arabs had the credit of cultivating; in truth they only watched the movements of the heavenly bodies for purposes of astrology, and they only investigated the properties of earthly substances for those of alchemy. In the fine arts they never attained any eminence.

From the physical resemblance between the Afghans and the Jews, Sir William Jones suspected the former to have been an offset of the latter. The converse of this position seems to have been nearer the truth. The Chaldeans, and thus Abraham and the Jews, seem to trace their source from the neighbourhood of the Afghans. Abraham carried from Mesopotamia into Canaan the pastoral habits of his ancestors, together with the creed, common to the Indians, the Persians, and the Chaldeans.

The nations bordering on Arabia seem to have

highly venerated, under the name of Bethyles, those aerolythes which they supposed to have dropped from the sun ; and of which the most celebrated was, many centuries later, by its high priest Heliogabalus, transferred from Emesus to Rome. One of these stones is to this day inserted in the walls of the Kaaba, or sacred chapel of Mohammed at Mecca.

As to Abraham, his only stationary abode in the land of Canaan seems to have been the sepulchre dug in the rock, which he purchased for Sarah his wife. His numerous descendants appear, during their two hundred years' stay in Egypt, to have on their original belief grafted many of the kindred tenets of the Egyptian priesthood. Among the latter learned class, the leader, lawgiver, and historian of the people of Israel, Moses, was born and bred. The traces of the doctrine and practices of Egypt may be recognised in all the Mosaic laws, dietetic and others, of which the maintenance was peculiarly intrusted to Moses' own tribe, that of Levi, on which exclusively devolved the hereditary priesthood of the Jews. Earnestly as Moses contended for the worship only of the true God, his own brother, Aaron, however, still showed propensities to idolatry, when, during the lawgiver's absence on Mount Sinai, the latter set up a golden calf, to be worshipped by the people. Moses was said to have been the only man, even among the Jews, to whom the Deity had appeared face to

face ; for to others, to whom God seems to have signified his will more directly, it was still only transmitted in dreams or visions, or through the medium of messengers, or in some other more doubtful and questionable form. The Supreme Being is, however, in the Old Testament, still often described as possessed not only of the features but of the passions of man. The powers of evil are in the Scriptures represented as often still with those of God maintaining a successful conflict. Bloody sacrifices are still deemed required to propitiate the Deity. Men of a lax morality often were said to have found favour in the eyes of God ; and rewards in an existence hereafter, or rather the immortality of the soul itself, is in the Old Testament entirely passed over in silence ; so that afterwards the Sadducees disbelieved this consoling tenet, and the Pharisees only inferred it from other dogmas more directly belonging to their creed. What wonder, then, that, when the promised Saviour came, and spoke of things more familiar to the ears of Gentiles than Jews, the chosen people of God should have shown themselves the least ready of any to adopt the great fundamental tenet of the Christian belief ? They were punished for their incredulity by becoming, as the gipsies have become since, outcasts on the face of the earth.

Of the country anciently called Iran, and comprehending Syria, Assyria, and Media, of which modern Fars, or Persia, is only a province, the

natives had fine forms, still retraced in their monuments, and rich complexions, still retained by their descendants. Their features, different from those prevailing among the Arabs, presented a convex line ; their hair and beard were curly, copious, and had that marked outline distinctive of a high race. Their primitive religion seems to have been a pure theism. This led to the worship of the elementary fire, of which the heavenly bodies were the offspring. Thence their veneration for those stones once supposed to have dropped from the sun, and now known to be formed in our own atmosphere.

Most of the nations here described acknowledged, in addition to the principle of good and production, a distinct principle of evil and destruction, called Ahriman by the Persians, Typhon in Egypt, and Satan by the Jews. Their priests were called magi; and from them the name of magicians still is given to those who, through the ministry of the stars, affect to possess supernatural powers. Their temples had no roof but the firmament. The history of their first monarch is considered by eastern nations as the most ancient tradition existing. The Bible itself mentions Nineveh, situated in the plains of Mesopotamia, as the first of cities; Babylon, on the Euphrates, as the second. Their earliest, and afterwards, when falling into disuse, sacred language, was the Pahli, parent of the Sanscrit, which diffused itself in India.



Theirs were the nail-head characters traced on the brick walls of Babylon, and on the basaltic pillars of Persepolis. They entertained the metaphysical idea of the invisible first cause of matter and of mind gradually assuming all the later and more partial forms, which matter and mind manifested to man. God was by them identified with nature. They regarded the universal soul of the world—its capacity of being modified into different sensible shapes—as constituting the Deity itself. Of the visible creation the different attributes, first emanated from God, were, after a number of different successive developments—expressed, or rather obscured, in India by the tradition of the successive incarnations of the divine essence; and among the Egyptians, by the doctrine of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of human souls—all destined ultimately to be again re-absorbed in the bosom of their first author: and this idea was so equally prevalent among the philosophers of all the countries bordering on Persia, that the Greeks went in search of its recondite truths indifferently to Egypt, to India, and to Chaldea.

It was from Persia that during the Babylonish captivity the belief in the immortality of the soul, entertained among most Gentiles, first made its way among the Jews: but it found easier access among those of Samaria than among the

more rigid Jews of Jerusalem ; so that when our Saviour appeared, those to whom he was most pointedly sent were the least disposed to receive him.

Indeed, what in the creed of the nations thus far described seems to have been most elevated, most approaching the purity of perfect theism, appears only in it as scraps and remnants of the theogony of some race, higher than those remaining, of which the history seems lost. For among none of the nations to whom this belief was said to belong was it diffused among the people at large, as it would have been, had it arisen spontaneously in their bosom. Among all of them it was the exclusive possession of the higher orders and the priesthood, who jealously concealed its tenets from the knowledge of the vulgar, and rendered it not the means to enlighten, but only the instrument to enslave the nation at large. Only when the movements of the stars ceased by all to be considered as announcing the peculiar designs and disposition of their Creator, did it first become lawful to all to watch their evolutions.

From the *Gin* and the *Peris* of Persia are derived our tales of the *genii* and *fairies* ; as from *Antar* and the *Arabs* appear borrowed our *chivalresque* traditions.

The regions that spread to the south of the Caspian seem to have been the cradle of the

highest nations, of which to this day the descendants flourish on the surface of the globe. There existed the paradise of Scripture; there soared Mount Ararat, on which, after the subsidence of Noah's deluge, the ark first struck ground. There arose the Armenian monarchy, the first of all those which later became the theme of history. Thence descended the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians, whose regions beheld the first great cities of the globe, Nineveh and Babylon. Thence first spread eastward the cultivation of India, as the Sanscrit, the eldest daughter of the Pahlavi language, denotes; thence first ramified westward the Pelasgian and the Hellenic nations. Thence extended northwards the Celts, and after them the Teutones, whose tongues, it is now ascertained by the learned men of Germany, only derive their fundamental affinity to the Greek and Sanscrit from their common parent, the Pahlavi of Persia. Indeed, the Druids of the Celtic and Gothic nations still long retained to the Brahmins of India a remarkable resemblance; as did the nobles of those more northern climes to the rajpoots and warriors of the regions through which flows the Indus.

The Scythians, and their descendants, the Sauromates, who, in their progress westward, followed the Celts and Goths, and settled in the eastern regions of Europe, of which the others

had already occupied the western provinces and the centre, seem to have had an origin different from that of either of these latter, and to have subsequently remixed more with other later supervening Asiatic races. The Celts, the foremost of the tribes that from Asia migrated to the west of Europe, appear, under the name of Britons and of Gauls, to have, in Great Britain, France, Spain, and Italy, had their career stopped only by the waves of the Atlantic and of the Mediterranean.

The Teutonic or Scandinavian races which, under the various appellations of Suevi, Vandals, Goths, Angli, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, and sometimes under denominations derived from circumstances more partial, as of Franks, Allemans, Burgundians, or Longobardi, by the more advanced Celts checked in their progress, chiefly settled in the northern and middle regions of Europe, whence some penetrated to its very southern extremities.

The Sauromates were, under the various denominations of Russians, Poles, Bohemians, Valachians, Bulgarians, Albanians, Epirotes, Illyrians, and Sclavonians, the last nations that filled the eastern margins of Europe, from the White to the Black Sea; and finally, the offsets of the Pelasgians and the Helleni, achieved in its most southern extremities the population of our quarter of the globe.

Of these ramifications westward, of stocks different in their eastern origin, the primitive features bodily and mental must, in the different countries to which they successively penetrated, through the gradual effects of difference of climate and situation, and the influence more rapid of constant intermixture of races, have become so altered from their original type, and above all so blended with each other, that it is difficult at this day to estimate how much of these original characteristics still subsists, and what part thereof belongs to each race in particular.

Yet may we in the Teutonic races still distinguish a muscular system more spread and more loosely knit ; an ossous texture more ponderous, more diffused, and laxly interwoven ; a facial outline, either in its narrow length, or in its shortened width, more deviating from the perfect oval shape ; a nose, in its aquiline or concave outline more strongly divided from the forehead, less insensibly prolonged from the brow ; jaws more squared, gums less arched, lips less curled, compressed, and wavy, chin less round and full, articulations less fine and flexible, extremities less taper, eyebrows, eyelashes, hair, whiskers, and beard less silky, less luxuriant, and yet less trimly disposed ; complexions, in their local tints more insipid, more monotonous, less varied, less contrasted ; movements, attitudes, and gestures less easy and less expressive ; eyes

less animated, and less full of subdued fire, than the perfection of human beauty seems to demand. Their sensitive organisation still seems to labour under a certain obtuseness, their mind to want a certain flexibility. In early eras the heroes of Edda were represented in the palace of Odin, as in the morning cutting each other in pieces for pastime, in order only in the evening to have their limbs reunited, and to get drunk; and to this day the descendants of these doughty warriors are more remarkable for feats of mere strength than of agility. Their national dances display more activity than grace; more of the angular than of the flowing line; more unmeaning shakes than impassioned gestures. It is not they who excel in fencing, in sleight of hand, in feats of manual dexterity. Even those among them that are most sensible to the charms of music, have not that flexibility of fingers which alone gives pre-eminence on the violin. The lower orders among them care little for the productions of the fine arts, for which only a studious cultivation gives a few individuals of the higher classes a forced taste. In their carriage they display little elegance, in their costume little refinement. In holding forth to the public, they accompany not their oratory by the emphatic tones, the expressive gestures, of their more animated Celtic neighbours. Their minds, less comprehensive and less versatile, simultaneously

embrace fewer ideas, follow up fewer designs ; from one train of thought, one species of pursuit, pass over more slowly, and with greater effort, to another pursuit wholly different. They are less fertile in expedients, less varied in resources, less apt to unite opposite talents ; they continue longer, with obstinate perseverance, after the chance of success in a design is gone by, to follow up the beaten track, heedless of the new prospects of superior advantage in a different line, that may open to the right and left. Should their efforts, in one career, one line of life, fail to answer, they feel less able, less disposed to turn their hands and minds to another and different sort of employment ; and sooner fall into entire and hopeless despondency. They can less adapt themselves to every difference of time, place, circumstance and person ; have less of the ingenuity which hides the most important designs under the semblance of mere pastime, and less of the dexterity that gives the most trifling amusements an air of elegance and of dignity. Both their confidence and their distrust easily run into extremes, and are expressed without caution.

Some of them have more of that inert and passive pride, which wraps man up in contemplation of himself, and shuts him out from familiar contact with his fellow creatures, than of that active and bustling vanity that wants the pre-

sence, and seeks the applause of beholders. They strive less to gain the good will of others by those trifling demonstrations, of which the smaller individual value is more than made up by their number and frequency. More tenacious of their own opinion, they are less tender of the prejudices of others; they tread, if I dare so express myself, on the intellectual corns of their vanity more incautiously. Often they fail in great objects, by their overweening solicitude about trifles. More imitative, they owe their arts of utility and of elegance, their very sciences, their forms political and religious, their language oral and written, less to their native genius, more to the example of others. It is true that, less voluble, less distracted by new pursuits, they often carry the performances on which they are intent, to greater perfection; they leave not a great work half finished, attracted by another enterprise which presents greater novelty. Some of their idioms have preserved much of their original purity; others are, like those that use them, become a compound of shreds and patches, collected from the same different quarters from which are derived the more tangible refinements they represent. Among the Gothic races, the lower classes seem not to feel the gradations that intervene between the tone of abject servility, and that of untaught insolence; nor do the



higher orders encourage their dependents to show, athwart the deference due by inferiors to superiors, the respect due by man to himself. There is in the tone of the lower ranks too much abject servility; in that of the higher classes too much unmodified hauteur,—too little of that urbanity, which at least smooths the descent to different levels. In all classes, whatever internal warmth pervades the heart, is slower in relaxing the icy rigour of the external appearance. Even while seeking to impress their hearers with the most vital truths, the action of their orators is frigid. The soldier is addressed with the cane; more dependence seems placed on the rhetoric of that instrument of pain, than on motives of a more ennobling nature.

Let it however be remembered, that I here only form a general estimate of what might be supposed to have been originally the average disposition and character of a race that has since spread over, and for many centuries has peopled, the whole north of Europe, the regions invaded by Sarmatian tribes only excepted; and of that race, as it was in its original rudeness, as yet unmodified either by the slower influence of different climates, latitudes and situations, or unchanged by the more rapid effects of intermixture of races; which latter nevertheless has in reality been so great, that in some countries it would be difficult in its natives to distinguish

what, during the lapse of many centuries, has been retained of the original leaven, and what may have been since contributed by the effect of each later adventitious circumstance in particular.

The difference of climate alone may have, on the one hand, produced effects so different, that while in England a spontaneous feeling for music is a nonentity, a national melody a nondescript, in the Tyrol the very bells of the sheep are tuned to regular octaves; and the difference of cultivation alone may, on the other hand, produce all the difference we observe in all countries alike between the lowest bred mechanic, and the highest bred gentleman.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

*Continuation of the former chapter.*

THE Celti, Keltoi, or Galli, from the western shores of Asia, where they gave their name to Galatia, seem early to have made inroads in Greece Proper; and thence are by Ginguéné supposed to have passed along the banks of the Danube, pushed on to Gaul and Britain, and to have flowed round to Italy and to Spain. They were afterwards again dispossessed of a great part of their conquests, in Britain, by the Angles, the Saxons and the Danes; in Gaul, earlier on the eastern side by the Franks, and later on the western side by the Normans; and in Spain, to the north by the Goths and Vandals, and to the south, by the Moors. Their original name of Keltoi or Galli is still retraced in the appellation of the Scottish dress, called Kilt; in the Gallic idiom of North Britain, and of that part of Ireland which from Scotland received its later population; in the denomination of those opposite provinces of England, distinguished by the appellation of land of the Welsh or Wales—*païs de Galles* ou *des Gaulois*—and in the name of Welschen,

still given by the Germans to the Gallic tribes of France, and of the north of Italy.

Most people consider the different idioms of Italy, of France, of Spain and of Portugal, as later corruptions of the Latin language : but the Latin, properly so called, only spoken late in the centre of Latium, in ancient Rome itself, and even there only familiarly used by the higher orders, could not, during the short time it prevailed, have spread its ramifications so far and so durably even among the lower orders of the more distant provinces of Europe, as in these to have entirely extinguished a more early indigenous language wholly different : if such had existed.

I therefore consider Celtic roots, anterior to the Latin, to have laid the foundation of the languages not only eastward of Italy, in Valachia, Moldavia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland, by the races not of Sarmatian origin who people those regions, and not only westward of the Italian peninsula, in France, Spain and Portugal, but in the very heart of the peninsula of Italy itself already spoken, before in Latium its peculiar dialect of that language was, by admixture with the neighbouring Greek, refined into the loftier language used by the higher classes of Rome. This language continued long, under the appellation of *Langue Romance*, to prevail in the south of France ; whence, as low down as the reign of Louis XIII. its western

ramification, still, under the name of *Langue d'Oc* or *d'Occident*, reached as far north as the *Loire*, while its eastern branch, named *Langue d'Œil*, under that of *Welsh* or *Walloon*, to this day maintains its ground in the environs of *Liege*.

In the more central parts of ancient Gaul, the Celtic was later again by the inroads of the Franks remixed with the Teutonic idiom, and became that more degraded and bastardised French language, which, notwithstanding its nasal *n*, its hardly sounded final *e*, and its total want of rhythm and cadence, has long been the favourite language of European courts.

Even that most northern division of the French nation, in which most Frank blood was remixed with that of its earlier Celtic stock, seems already to possess organs susceptible of impressions somewhat more acute and varied than the neighbouring races more purely Teutonic. Their carriage is less unhinged, their gait less slouching. This ossous system shows greater compactness, their muscle closer knitting. In fencing, dancing, and other exercises that require skill and agility, they display more grace and precision. Their cookery, perfumery, attire, utensils and furniture are the offspring of senses more refined. They invent more, and to every object of utility they add more appropriate ornament, for the mere pleasure of the eye. Of every trifling gift of person, situation and cir-

cumstance, they take greater advantage. With smaller means they produce greater effects. In their mirth, the lowest classes are less addicted to vulgar excess, more caught by the eye, fonder of refinement. Their spirits are more elastic and buoyant, their tread is lighter, their address more unconstrained, their punctilio less measured by rule and compass, their mind more active and versatile, their manners more adapted to varying circumstances of time, place and persons. Their soldiers show greater capability of becoming officers, their artisans of rising into artists. Emulation carries them farther. Their conversation turns on a greater variety of topics. Their passions while they last are stronger, but sooner change their object.

In the northern provinces of Spain, the Celtic blood has in the middle ages been so remixed with that of the Goths and Vandals, and in the southern districts with that of the Moors of Africa, that it is difficult to assign the characteristic by each of these opposite races left of the original stock, and those subsequently ingrafted on the same. The richer rays of the sun give at once more vigour and more elasticity to the human frame. The whole of the hottest day in summer, the Castilian muleteer keeps pace with the trot of his mules; and Spain has long supplied the rest of Europe with the most active tumblers and rope dancers.

Among the lowest classes the carriage is lofty, the gait studied, the language musical, the attire gay, sumptuous and picturesque. Their national dance, the fandango, seems the result of an organization more flexible than that which suggested the hornpipe. Dignity of mind and manner mark the Spanish hidalgo: from Spain, the north of Europe first received the laws of modern chivalry and the rules of the modern drama. Later, the Inquisition again palsied the early progress of that country, and made it retrograde in proportion as other neighbouring regions advanced.

The name of *Portus Calé*, first only given to the most celebrated harbour on the western shore of the Spanish peninsula, by degrees became applied to the whole of Portugal. The mongrel breed of its capital, the produce of its most distant opposite colonies, gives an unfair idea of the more genuine descendants of the Celtic race that people its provinces. These latter still show that lively disposition, that proneness to dance and song, that refined diction, that genuine taste for poetry, that native urbanity and courteousness of manner, which, in the austerer climates of the north, seem only the artificial offspring of a higher cultivation. The Portuguese were the first bold navigators among modern nations. They first made the power of Europe re-extend over the realms of Asia. But

their glory was but of short duration; and Coimbra only just had time to show what Portugal might have become under favourable auspices, when there, as in Spain, learning became dangerous, research prohibited, and the expanding mind of the Portuguese forced to shrink in the bud, and to revert to its primitive nothingness.

Ancient Celtica extended from the mouth of the Po one way to the outlets of the Rhine the other. It included at one time not only what was called Gallia Proper, but what has since, in consequence of fresh eruptions of Teutonic tribes, received the name of Lombardy. Of the Italian peninsula, the earliest inhabitants, not of Grecian origin, seem all to have been of Celtic race. The different dialects spoken to this day, even at Florence and at Rome, far from only seeming, as we generally regard them, later corruptions of the Latin, appear all to have been so many different earlier varieties only of the original Celtic dialect, spoken before it was refined into Latin; since to the last these dialects have continued to bear, not as they would have done, had they only been corruptions of the Latin, the same common name with the latter, but the distinctive appellation of the several distinct peculiar regions in which they arose.

Of Latium the peculiar dialect originally bore



the greatest affinity to the Oscan, itself a ramification of the Celtic. In fact, the names of the Roman deities, not borrowed from those of the Greeks, were purely Celtic; and Dionysius Halicarnassensis expressly says, that the ancient language of Rome was neither wholly Greek, nor wholly barbarian. The oldest specimen of it remaining—a hymn of the *Fratres Arvales*, referred to the fabulous era of Romulus, and a fragment of the laws of Numa, in Festus,—are nearly allied to the Celtic.

By the higher classes of Rome, themselves composed of heterogeneous elements, from all the surrounding states made in its wide basin to flow together, and to mix, its first rustic language was subsequently refined into the more lofty dialect, never familiarly used by its plebs, which seems to have been, under the name of Latin, confined to its patricians; and of which the still remaining inscriptions show how little the orthography was fixed. Its first improvement appears to have been derived from the Pelasgic Greeks of Etruria, from whom the Romans borrowed their earliest industry, arts, sciences, civil and religious institutions. The later polish seems to have been given it by the Eolian and Doric dialects of *Magna Græcia*. Thanks to these, it became disencumbered of the auxiliary verb, and enriched with numerous Greek words and constructions.

Ennius, the poet, was the first who greatly

improved the Latin language. Plautus added new distinctions between the diction of the patricians and that of the plebeians ; but even Cicero still mentions how few in his time were the ladies of that capital who spoke its language correctly. Nay, Quintilianus himself speaks of the difficulty of learning pure Latin in the midst of Rome. The idiom of the lower class was called the *lingua vulgaris*, or *rustica* ; that of the higher class alone was distinguished by the name of *urbana*. Indeed, to the last, the Roman people delighted in farces in which prevailed the Oscan dialect, the first that was spoken on the site of Rome.

The delivery of the Latin seems to have been as studied as its forms were artificial. The *cantilena*, still preserved in their conversation by the modern Romans, was in the set speeches of the ancients carried to the highest pitch. According to Cicero, Caius Gracchus used to be attended in the rostrum by a flute player, who, before he began his orations, gave him the proper intonation ; and we know, from Cicero and others, what importance was in Roman oratory attached to the propriety, the elegance, and the impressiveness of action.

The Latin language of Rome, confined to the higher classes, can never have been considered as the true criterion of the civilization of the plebs of Italy, or even of that of the population of the eternal city itself, taken in general. It was the stilted result, when Rome became the

capital of the known world, of an artificial turgescence. It ceased with the greatness of Rome.

When the seat of the empire became, from the banks of the Tiber, transferred to the shores of the Hellespont; when the Romans no longer felt proud to borrow forms of art from the Greeks, but the Greeks thought to acquire consequence by calling themselves Romans; when their own language, degenerated from its primitive purity, took the name of Romaic; the Latin itself again lost its artificial inflation, relapsed into those laxer and less turgid forms, never wholly abandoned by the bulk of its population, and re-became more akin to the other Italian dialects. The pompous Latin only remained the vehicle of erudition and of science among the learned men of Europe, who were still ashamed of speaking their vernacular tongue.

To the natural vigour and suppleness of body of the Celtic races, which supplied the bulk of the population of Italy, bear witness their dancers, their jugglers, their groteschi, their saltim banchi, their long-acknowledged pre-eminence in the arts of equitation, of fencing, and others of activity and skill. The sensibility of their ear and eye are attested by the eminence they attained in music and in the imitative arts; and their vivid and flexible imagination made them excel equally in the humorous productions and in the higher departments of literature. Nor should their more

brilliant accomplishments blind us to their superiority in the arts of utility and in the researches of science. The soil of Italy first gave birth to banks, exchanges, book-keeping with double entries, paper currency, Lombards, insurances, maritime laws and consulates, the compass, and the other great improvements in navigation and in trade. To Italian industry and genius are owing the most important modern discoveries in astronomy, medicine, mathematics, chemistry, and physiology. In Italy, civilization, after shedding its last dying rays at Constantinople, first was seen to revive with increased splendor.

But it should be remarked that precisely while the numerous small states of Italy were most a prey to internal anarchy and to external warfare, did the friction of contending interests and passions elicit the most brilliant coruscations of its genius. The weight of the despotism that since made the Italians subside into quiescence, also extinguished all their fire; and the degraded Italian of the present day can scarce himself believe that the great monuments which ennoble his country were in part the work of his own more enterprising ancestors of the middle ages.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

*Continuation of the characteristics of peculiar nations.*

WHOEVER names the ancient Greeks, names the nation gifted by nature with talents the most rare and diversified which history has handed down to us. We find their race, wherever in its progress westward it reached—in Asia, in Europe, in the islands of the intervening archipelago, at the southern extremity of Italy, in whose soil the Romans founded their later cities on threefold tiers of earlier Grecian tombs, or on the coast of Sicily, their last and furthest important possession—in natural gifts, and in acquirements of art, most excel all other neighbouring nations. Of Sicily, where, according to Diodorus, the wheat-ear and the vine-cluster grew wild ; where Hybla poured forth its fragrant honey ; where, in the plains of Enna, the perfume of the violet made the dogs lose their scent ; where Theocritus, from the familiar converse of the country swain, perfected bucolic poetry ; where the vats of the vintage were the cradle of the Comic Muse ; where rose Thespis the father of Tragedy, and

died Æschylus its first lawgiver ; where Archimedes flourished and Euclid taught, the varied outline presented an uninterrupted series of the most superb cities, and to this day the coins form the chief boast of the antiquary.

The regions between the Caspian and the Euxine, to the south of Caucasus, seem to have been the first birthplace of the Greeks. Thence first advanced westward their progenitors, those Scythians, those Pelasgi, and those Hellenes who, coasting both shores of the Black Sea, the northern and the southern, at last settled partly in Ionia, partly in Greece Proper, and partly in the intervening islands, still occupied by their degenerate descendants ; and thence sent their colonies still further westward round the shores of the Mediterranean.

In the regions whence they first originated, and where their blood may be supposed to have been least alloyed and degraded by subsequent remixture with that of inferior races, it still retains, to the saying of all witnesses, its full physical superiority. To this day the Circassians and the Georgians boast of features, in more regular proportion filling the fine oval of their face, of a head more beautifully implanted on a chest wider and higher, rising out of a waist slenderer and more taper ; of limbs more full, elastic, and fined down ; joints and articulations more firm, and yet more flexible ; extremities more deli-

cate, pointed, and curling; complexions by nature more clear and transparent; hair more silken, more jetty, more trimly traced round the features; bodies better poised, and by the least impulse of the mind more easily set in motion; carriage more lofty, light, and buoyant; gait more easy, firm, and graceful; countenances more expressive and more full of fire, than fall to the lot of surrounding nations; and these fascinations they still retain in their genial regions at so much later an age than elsewhere, as not to render incredible the period to which Homer extended the beauty of Helen, or to make the age at which still glowed the ardour of Anacreon, appear in Greece an exaggeration of poetry.

In frames formed of a clay thus fine, cast in a mould thus perfect, must have arisen organs of sense capable of impressions the most delicate and most diversified.

And in fact the ancient Greeks evinced the superiority of their organization by surpassing in every bodily display every other nation. Among them individuals of every age and station alike frequented the gymnasium; all were equally proud to excel in the more arduous games of the palæstra, and in the more elegant movements of the dance. Saltatory motions were not in Greece confined only to one sort, and only marked by one character. The young and the old, the grave and the gay, each had the choice of

metrical movements suited to their rank and station. While the warrior delighted in the bold abruptness of the Pyrrhic step, the courtesan displayed the languishing movements of the Lydian measure : even the philosopher took his part in the maze with a grave and decorous dignity.

Thence also the art of flattering those twin senses, the palate and the scent, were carried in Greece to the highest pitch. The cook, the confectioner, and those females whose business it was to assort the flowers of the richest hue and most fragrant perfume in the wreaths and chaplets worn at all festivals, were in no country more celebrated. Thence, above all, the finer ear of the Hellenes refined the ruder language of the Pelasgi so rapidly, that already in the age of Homer, the earliest of recorded poets, and in that of Herodotus, the oldest of heathen historians, the Greek tongue excelled all others in abundance of words, richness of phraseology, number of tenses, simplicity and copiousness of conjugations and declensions, variety of dialects, fulness, contrast and euphony of sounds, melody, harmony, rhyme and cadence; that in Greek composition, even where the sense of a phrase would have fallen flat on the mind, the elevation of the sound still sufficed to support it to the ear, and the fulness of that sound disguised the feebleness of the sense; and that Horace, no mean artificer in his own lan-



guage, and with his own tools and materials, feelingly deplores the inferiority of the Latin to the Greek language. The nicely turned ear of the Greeks even went so far in its susceptibility as to have obscured history, by remodelling into terminations more harmonious the harsh endings of barbaric names; and Socrates urged the importance of bestowing on children such appellations as might excite them, when men, to act up to, in all their concerns. From the extreme susceptibility of the Greeks to rhyme and cadence were among them all the arts capable of displaying its charms—dance, song, the clang of instruments, acting, recitation, and pantomime, nay oratory and history themselves—comprehended under the collective denomination of music, placed under the patronage of goddesses called muses, and often made to go hand in hand, and to co-operate in one single great joint effect. Ode, elegy, hymn, and other poetry epic and dramatic, always accompanied by appropriate chorusses, by instruments, and by dumb show of the most expressive sort, ever spoke alike to the ear and to the eye, the sense and the mind. Nothing was addressed to the cold reason, that had not previously been made to excite and to warm the imagination. Such power indeed had in Greece music over the fine strung minds of its natives, that according to Greek historians the nature of the musical instruments and the

mode of musical compositions not only excited the transient passions, but influenced the permanent character of its different republics. Polybius attributes to the neglect of music the ferocious disposition of the Cynetans, and to the sedulous cultivation of music the softening of Arcadian rusticity. Aristotle, in the education of youth, urges with equal earnestness the practice of gymnastics and the study of music; and not only historians and philosophers—a Plato and a Theophrastes, a Strabo and a Plutarch—but even legislators and rulers enforced in their commonwealths the study of music, nay made it a point to promote the cultivation of peculiar modes, and the exclusion of certain others;—to keep a watchful eye over every innovation and change, whether in the construction of musical instruments, or in the character of musical compositions.

Thence while in ancient Rome the science of music was abandoned to slaves, in ancient Greece a want of musical skill was in the highest citizens deemed disgraceful. *Amousikos*, or unmusical—a term implying a deficiency either of natural fineness in the organs of sound, or of proper cultivation of their capabilities—became a term of bitter reproach. Thence Epaminondas was, by his biographer Nepos, praised for his proficiency, not only in dancing, but in playing on the flute: and Themistocles was, on some oc-

casion, deemed ill educated for not knowing at a festival how to strike the lyre. The Greek diatonic or musical scale contained modes and subdivisions of tone and measure more numerous and more minute than modern ears can discern. Vitruvius complained of not finding in the Latin language terms capable of rendering the Greek musical system of Aristomenes: Greeks were the inventors, first of the lyre in all its varieties, and later of the organ. From Greece came all the terms of music, vocal and instrumental, afterwards used in the Roman ritual; and thence do we find, like the language, the music of the Greeks branch out in so many different ramifications, that its tendrils seemed to entwine themselves with every affection of the mind, and to give the impulse to every movement of the body.

From the extreme power which beauty, corporeal as well as mental, exerted over the sense and mind of the Greeks; from their extreme sensibility to the impressions of the one as well as of the other; or rather, from an idea that a certain degree of perfection in the external forms of the body always implied a certain corresponding perfection in the internal faculties of the mind—that even the former cannot, by nature, have been given in an eminent degree, except to such as the Deity looked down upon with complacency—not only the common class

among the Greeks, but even their sages, their philosophers and their lawgivers—a Lycurgus, a Solon, a Socrates, and a Plato—placed corporeal beauty among the foremost of the gifts of God, and of human blessings, and as on a par with the privilege of superior understanding, regarded the possessor of superior beauty as being equally with the possessor of superior wisdom a special favourite of Heaven; almost paid its owner divine worship, and raised to his memory not only statues but altars.

No wonder then that the sage as well as the gay, the artisan as well as the artist, from motives of utility as well as of pleasure, should not only have studied to the utmost the beauties of nature, but should have striven to enhance these by all the combinations of art which the fertile imagination of the Greeks could suggest: nay, that they should, of the perfections, in the originals of nature only beheld dispersed very widely among individuals very different, have in the mind collected the ideas in single intellectual wholes, thence called *ideal*, before they executed of these mental combinations the external representation; and that they should thus have arrived at producing, of the beauties of nature, physical and intellectual, imitations, singly more striking than any prior originals ever beheld. Indeed the Greeks considered the arts of design, which lead to the study and knowledge of the

perfections of nature, and their improvement by art, in whatever is connected with the forms of utility, of comfort and of pleasure—with the institution social, political, and religious of individuals and of states—as of such importance to general welfare and happiness, that not only Aristotle in his imaginary republic, but the legislators of Greece in the real commonwealths which they regulated, made the study of those arts an indispensable part of the education of every free citizen, low and high; and distinguished them by the name of liberal, as being, by their very tendency to exalt the mind, forbidden the slave, whom Grecian policy kept down.

In every pursuit of utility and of pleasure; in agriculture, in manufactures, in mechanics, in architecture, and in navigation; in music, painting, sculpture, oratory, history, and poetry; in the arts of peace and production, and in the arts of war and destruction, the Greeks excelled alike in each line of pursuit. Their capacities were as versatile as they were extensive. In each branch of art, from the rudest beginnings, they made, in the shortest period, with the least adventitious aid from without, the furthest and longest strides; in each attainment they reached unassisted the highest pre-eminence. They invented most, perfected most, most surpassed whatever preceded them, and most served as in-

structors, as examples, and as models to the nations that came after them. For in comparing the advancements of the ancient Greeks, particularly in science, with those of modern nations, we must always keep in mind the very unequal point of departure whence each first started, the later nations that signalized themselves by their progress, having had the whole stock of Greek lore to begin with; nor infer any mental inferiority in the Greeks, only from their having attained a less degree of ultimate eminence in those branches of knowledge, which, demanding mere observation and experience, must ever necessarily, as the world grows older, by the last comers be collected in greater quantities. In the fine arts, in which success depends more on inspiration, on native fire, and less on patient inquiry, so far from modern nations having outstepped the ancient Greeks, they have sensibly retrograded; and we no longer can enter into competition with what Greece admired two thousand years ago.

Not only in the productions that occupy the sense in their enjoyment, but in those exclusively addressed to the mind, did the Greeks far surpass all neighbouring nations. If Vitruvius complained that the Romans had no terms for rendering the musical expressions of the Greeks, Cicero equally lamented that the Roman language was deficient in means of expressing Greek

metaphysics. Of the various philosophical sects which arose in the fertile soil of Greece, few only were able to carry on, in the character of exotics, a feeble and lingering existence at Rome.

From the versatility of Greek genius, it was not an uncommon thing in Greece to see the most exalted personages shine with equal brilliance in accomplishments the most opposite.

I shall not here state the numberless instances mentioned in history of artists equally eminent in architecture, in painting, and in sculpture. The union of opposite talents was carried a great deal farther. Almost every great historian had begun by acquiring personal distinction in the scenes of valour and of prowess he describes. Each was a practical statesman before he became a political writer. Arts, literature, and philosophy mostly went hand in hand. According to Plato, nature had fitted Solon to be a successful wooer of the muses before he became a worshipper of Themis. Plato himself applied with success to painting and to poetry, as well as to philosophy, and was trained to athletic exercises by Aristo of Argos, at the same time that he was initiated in the study of letters by the grammarian Dionysius. Æschylus signalized himself in the battle of Marathon before he became an eminent tragedian. Pericles was as good a judge in arts as he was expert in matters of state. Alcibiades excelled in music and in dancing, before he be-

came a popular leader. Socrates was a sculptor by profession, and had distinguished himself in war against the Spartans ; nay, had studied eloquence under Prodicus, poetry under Comus, geometry under Theodorus, and music under Damo, before he became the most celebrated of heathen moralists. Epaminondas showed as much skill in the command of his flute as in that of his army. Xenophon was as great a writer as he was a general. And when the Roman commander, Paulus Emilius, after his victory over Perseus, king of Macedon, applied to the Athenians for a philosopher to instruct his children, and for an artist to paint his triumphs, they provided him with both in the single person of Metrodorus.

Forcibly impressed with the shortness of our present existence, and having feeble assurance only of a life hereafter, the Greeks seemed always trying to condense as many agreeable sensations in as short a measure of space and time as possible : to live as fully as they could, while life lasted. Their artists, in general, condensed all their powers of striking the imagination in a single action ; their authors in a single event.

Their dramatic representations, though uniting all that could impress the sense and mind in a single whole, were always short and terse. Their orators, instead of diluting their arguments in a mass of words, and only by numerous convolutions gradually approaching their object, went



at once, in the most rapid way, straight to the point. They found not time for long exordiums and preparations : their logic resembled a full, deep, and forcible current, running down a precipice, which nothing can resist : and when Phocion, the powerful adversary of Demosthenes, was asked, ere he commenced his speech, why he looked so thoughtful, “ It is,” he answered, “ because I consider how to abridge what I have to say.”

Where, in every path of distinction, so many sought fame, for any one to excel was an arduous task. Yet so liberal was in Greece the reward of merit, where it inspired not distrust, as in every species of pursuit to produce the utmost emulation. “ O Athenians !” exclaimed Alexander, “ how I toil, only to obtain your applause !” And the greater was the superiority of the Greeks over other nations, the more willing it found them to do their rivals justice. It is true they called the races not of Grecian blood Barbari ; but with them this word had in it nothing of contempt or disparagement. It only was used as synonymous with that of foreigners. The real inferiority of the nations to whom it belonged has since affixed to it a meaning more unfavourable. Of the history of the nations called Barbari, we only know, besides events related in the Bible, what the Greeks have recorded of them. No people were readier than

they, not only to receive improvements from strangers, but to proclaim the obligation.

The Greeks felt a constant wish to please. The gratification they saw depicted in the countenances of their admirers seemed to be reflected in their own features. Thence the easy urbanity that distinguished their address. Nor was their courteousness confined to their fellow-citizens. It extended to every stranger that visited their shores. The lower classes displayed its refinements as well as the higher orders. The volubility of their mind gave their conversation that elegant sprightliness, that condiment, become proverbial under the name of Attic salt. Their flexibility of organization, bodily and mental, made them with facility adopt the manners, however different from their own, of those among whom they resided. The sturdiest patriots at home became the most obsequious courtiers in the palace of a Persian satrap. After they had been conquered by the superior force of the Romans, they in their turn subdued their conquerors, by the pre-eminent powers of their intellect. With those very same arts and sciences with which they adorned the reigns of the Roman emperors, they more lately again illustrated the courts of the Mohammedan kaliphs. Under every misfortune still preserving the elasticity of their mind, the mirthful mood of their disposition, their latest descendants still betrayed their re-

lationship to those Lydians who, when by the siege of their town reduced to a state of famine, invented new games to beguile the pangs of hunger. Cruel when in wrath, like all nations so constituted that political contests become personal struggles for life or death, they yet were the first to render sacred the character of supplicants, and to raise altars to Pity; and, to their honour be it spoken, to the last they resisted the introduction of those sanguinary spectacles, which deluged the Roman amphitheatres with blood.

In no circumstance did the capacity of the ancient Greeks show its extent, and their disposition its pliancy, more than in the diversity which difference of localities, situations physical and moral, institutions and laws, produced in the characters of their different individuals and states; than in the readiness which they showed under every different pressure, to assume every corresponding form, and to adapt themselves to every situation.

While in inferior human races, first on this globe by the preponderance of some peculiar element produced, such is of that organization the inclination and bent in some peculiar direction, that the disposition with which each individual is born clings to him during life, nor from any subsequent difference of situation derives any diversity of remodifications, any difference

of subsequent developement; while these inferior races suffer the longest periods of time to roll over their existence, without experiencing from them any change in their first impressions; while the negro, from an infant to an elder, whether within the tropics, or cast near the poles, still equally is in mind and manner either an abject slave or an imperious despot, so that each might exchange stations with the other, and yet not display any difference of character, except what proceeded from difference of relative situation, the Greeks, from the slightest variation of external circumstances, suffered a remodelling of internal disposition so entire—found the different faculties of their sense and mind checked or developed in degrees so different—that the smallest extent of country which offered climates, localities and situations dissimilar from each other, already offered inhabitants equally contrasted in habits and in disposition; in powers natural and acquired: that the small circumference of Greece Proper alone exhibited individuals and states, more diversified in forms, in institutions, laws, customs, and manners, than elsewhere the widest regions could exhibit. A short day's journey sufficed to compass the opposite extremes from the height of rustic simplicity in Arcadia, to the height of urban civilization, luxury, and polish in Corinth; from the austerity of Sparta, to the elegance of Athens. Nay, in the same spot, the

most striking oppositions, the most sudden contrasts presented themselves side by side. In the gymnasium or the stoa might be seen, in familiar converse, the athlete, in whom only the body had received the utmost developement, the mind been left fallow, and the philosopher, whose mind had received the utmost cultivation, even at the expense of the body; the trader in the substantial articles that gratify the sense, and the sage who only dealt in, and only brought to market, intangible opinions; the landsman and the sailor; the modest matron, gliding unknown athwart the busy crowd, and the brilliant courtesan, on whom were riveted the eyes of all Greece: Democritus clothed in perpetual smiles; Heraclitus constantly dissolved in tears: Aristotle teaching philosophy in the garb of a prince; Diogenes proud of his rags: Zeno, Epicurus and Plato, inculcating doctrines as distant as the poles asunder.

Still must it be owned, that even the mind of the Greeks, with all its capabilities, hardly possessed the extent necessary to admit the highest abstractions: that if Cicero in his philosophical works evinces no originality, and only puts forth certain of the tenets previously broached in the schools of Greece, even the Greek philosophers themselves, in their turn, only retailed the shreds and patches they had earlier picked up, of a doctrine, of which the more connected whole

must at a more remote period have first existed further eastward.

Among the instructors of the Greeks, originating from the more distant realms of Asia, the first seems to have been that Dionysius or Bacchus, not yet in the age of Homer raised to the rank of a god, whom the Greeks describe as having returned from his travels to India fraught with the wisdom of its schools, and attired in the garb of its sages. He presents, in character as well as in name, a marked identity with the Indian god Baghessa. The same mystic symbol of fertility, the phallus, wrapped up in a tiger's skin, being in the festivals of both carried in solemn procession, followed by a motley crowd of votaries of either sex, performing the most frantic gestures and movements.

Another of the strangers, who came early to instruct the Greeks, was the Thracian Orpheus, who likewise brought from India the philosophy of the gymnosophists, and taught that all things first emanated from, and after a certain period again were reabsorbed into the bosom of the Deity. Among them also was the Phrygian Antisthenes, the Phœnician Thales (different from him of Miletus), and the Chaldæan Berosus, who in the time of Alexander established at Cos a school, where, among other things, he taught that the tenth king of Chaldæa, by the order of Saturn, built a vessel, in which he shut him-

self up with his daughter during a deluge, of which he ascertained the subsiding by letting out birds.

Among the Greeks themselves, who in the schools of more ancient nations sought what scraps of more eastern doctrines the priests of these earlier nations could be prevailed upon to disclose to them, were the Athenian Musæus, himself a disciple of Orpheus, who went to consult the wisdom of Egypt, and Pythagoras, who pushed on to Phœnicia, to Persia, and to India; and who, as far as the tenets of a sage who never imbodyed his doctrine in writing, and whose disciples were enjoined the greatest secrecy, can be ascertained, from the gymnosophists or Brahmins of India adopted the physical doctrine of the centrality of the sun, and the metaphysical doctrine of the unity of the first cause, whence first emanated that soul which successively animated different bodies. Among them was Cleobulus, one of those men called, by a pre-eminence, no longer accounted for by any peculiar facts, the seven sages of Greece; Solon, the lawgiver of Athens; Plato, who, as well as the historian Herodotus, visited the learned men of Egypt; Democritus, who conversed with the magi and the Chaldæans; Anaxarchus and Callisthenes, who accompanied Alexander to India; and, finally, Apollonius of Thyana, who, even after the birth of our Saviour, travelled to consult the magi of Babylon and the priests of India, besides

all the Asiatic Greeks, who, standing in natural allegiance to the kings of Persia, had daily opportunities of rendering themselves conversant with the creed of eastern countries.

And not only some of the eastern mythological traditions of the Greeks—such as the struggle between Jove and the Titans, at last ending in the total overthrow of these inferior and rebel powers, hurled into the fiery furnaces of Etna ; that of the deluges of Ogyges and Deucalion ; and that of the first human beings, brought forth after the former submersion of the globe, perishing by each others' hands—offer so striking a coincidence with some of the first incidents related in the Bible, but even certain expressions occurring in the later dialogues of Plato, present with certain still later terms in Scripture so marked a conformity, that it is difficult to suppose the Greeks not to have had some cognizance of the sacred writings of the Jews.

But whether this was the case or not ; whether the Greeks had or had not any communication given them of any of the higher truths by degrees divulged to the Hebrews, so discordant was with these truths the general tenor of Greek mythology, that, instead of the purer doctrine of the east finding in Greece a general acceptance—instead of its becoming the property of all—it remained concealed from the vulgar in the inmost recesses of the temples, and only under the name of mysteries, unfit for the profane ear, and under



the oaths of the most inviolable secrecy, was revealed to a few among the higher orders.

As entities raised highest, when their tide turns, fall lowest—as the very volubility of the Greeks, which made them advance more rapidly, when the impelling force failed, allowed them to retrograde faster—of that very nation once so great, so glorious, the remains, when subdued by, when remixed with, when corrupted by other nations of an inferior caste, lapsed into a state of degradation more complete than other nations, displaying a greater *vis inertiae*, would have done. All the elements of good, blended in them, decomposed more rapidly, and emitted a stronger taint.

Though I have pointed to the east, for the origin of the doctrine, higher than that of the Greeks, which these received, but did not know how to value, and to render fruitful, I am far from believing that even among those eastern nations to which we can more proximately trace its higher tenets, these first took their birth.

When among all those nations more early civilised than the Greeks, from whom these latter borrowed their philosophy and their religious creed, we find of the tenets most sublime, fragments not only most similar, but most equally deprived of their connecting links, most equally intermixed with absurdities the most glaring, the most incapable of proceeding from the same mind that could first have conceived the former;

when we find that all these nations equally concur in concealing the sublime truths they chance to possess from the knowledge of the vulgar, in a way they could not have attempted—not have wished to do—had these truths been by the vigour of native intellect discovered on the spot; and find them trying by their exclusive possession only to enslave that vulgar, instead of wishing by their general dissemination to enlighten the world; when the depositaries of these recondite truths seem among all these nations equally anxious to cast an anathema on all men not purposely initiated, who should disinterestedly search after knowledge, it is but fair to suppose that, as little as the Greeks themselves, those earlier eastern nations, from whom the Greeks more proximately derived their higher doctrine, were those among whom its light first shone; who first found it illumine their breast. It is but fair to suppose that even these more eastern nations, of which records still subsist, only retained what they boasted of, or rather concealed, as scraps and remnants of a body of science better connected, only possessed in its whole concatenation by some race earlier and higher, again, by some of the dire deluges that afflicted this globe, almost entirely overwhelmed, of which by other inferior races the scattered remains were picked up, preserved, and, together with their own baser alloy, transmitted to their later descendants.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

*Is independence, is free agency, is liberty necessary to pleasure, to enjoyment, to happiness?*

THAT pleasure, that enjoyment, in time and in space sufficiently continued and extended to deserve the appellation of bliss, of felicity, of happiness, are and must be the aim of man's actions here, and the object of his hopes hereafter, can admit of no doubt; but a great question, now much agitated, seems to arise from every part of my inquiry, or rather, in my own opinion, to be by that inquiry settled in the minds of those who have throughout attentively followed my arguments: namely, are independence, free agency, liberty, or are they not, the immediate and direct conditions and means of man's felicity and happiness? have either of these states essentially or immediately any connexion with happiness? is happiness not to be obtained without them?

First: let us understand what is meant by independence, by free agency, by liberty. I believe these to be conditions in reality very different.

Independence, free agency, are positive attributes, which man cannot possess. He de-

pend, more proximately, for what he is, for what he can do, or even can will, on prior external circumstances, that formed him, that place him in the peculiar situation he occupies on this earth, that cause in him the peculiar sensations and thoughts he experiences, that modify and that direct these sensations and thoughts, that permit him to have some, and prevent him from having others. He depends more remotely and ultimately, for all he does and all he is, on that Creator who willed all the conditions and circumstances of his actions and of his existence. No man has free agency, no man even has free will ; for the will of man is an impulse outwards, which depends on prior sensations from without inwards, and on thoughts produced by these sensations, previous to that will.

But what is understood by liberty is not, like independence, like free agency, a positive attribute, liable to no degrees, and inadmissible in any thing created of which we have cognizance. It is only a relative attribute. It is only the power in man of performing what he has the previous power of willing. It is only in each individual man restrained by the power of other individual creatures of God's creating—of other productions of nature—distinct and separate from that individual man, and not directly connected with him, without or with a volition of their own, to check that individual in the actions proceeding from his will. It consequently has infinite different

degrees of restrictedness or of extension. A slave under an indulgent master may enjoy liberty to a certain degree, and the man, nominally freest, in the republic said to enjoy the greatest liberty and equality, but where the population is very dense, and where every other individual, like himself, employs his liberty, exerts his power, to thwart him, will continually be crossed and jostled; will continually have his elbows pinned to his sides; will live in a continual state of servitude and restraint. We need, therefore, no longer waste any time in inquiring whether independence, free agency, are essential to man's happiness. We know that no man can be independent, can be a free agent; and yet we know that many people have great enjoyment, great happiness.

But we may inquire whether a certain modified degree of liberty is necessary to man's happiness, and what degree is necessary to the same.

To answer this question satisfactorily, we must begin by investigating what is pleasure, what is enjoyment, what are the ingredients of which a certain quantity form the aggregate called happiness—whence enjoyment and happiness immediately arise?

The actions we perform, the impressions we in our turn make on other entities, and of which the earliest—caused by prior impressions first received by us, from prior impulses first given to us, by prior actions first performed on us, by

other entities, forces, powers—already begin, while we still only possess a faculty of again transmitting the impulse we blindly receive, as blindly, and without any consciousness of doing so to others; already begin, consequently, long before we are capable of harbouring any sensation, of experiencing any enjoyment, of feeling any happiness; and to the last from us that perform those actions, that cause those impressions, they only go out, only produce sensations, only produce happiness, immediately in certain of the other entities by whom these impressions are received—if these entities have the faculty of drawing from the impressions they receive any sensation. They are only immediately received by other entities, in as far as those other entities, with regard to those that give the impressions—that are active with respect to them—are on the contrary passive.

If we ourselves receive impressions, receive sensations of pleasure, of happiness, from other entities acting upon us, it is only in our capacity as acted upon by these other entities, as passive with regard to them, that we receive those sensations of pleasure; that we are immediately made happy.

Nay, if by our actions performed without our prior will, or even by our actions impelled by our own prior will, we procure ourselves any pleasure, and add to our own happiness, it is only as by our agency with regard to modifications with

regard to which we are active, we so impel these modifications that they in return are in a circle made to impel and impress us, and to render us passive, that they thus are made mediately to cause in us the impressions which give us pleasure, and which afford us happiness.

If without our will, or even directly through our own volition, we derive any enjoyment from the sense of feel, of taste, of smell, of hearing or of sight, it is not immediately from acting on other substances, modifications, or persons, that we derive that enjoyment from those senses. These other substances, modifications or persons, are only the intervening means and instruments, through the medium of which we again more remotely obtain that pleasure, that happiness. It is from placing these modifications relative to us, or ourselves so relative to them, in such a position, that they may in their turn react on us—on our organs of feel, taste, smell, hearing, or sight—that they may give these organs certain impressions, that they may be active with regard to these organs, and render these organs passive with regard to them, that they are enabled to produce in them sensations of pleasure.

It is the same with pleasures, with enjoyments, with happiness of an intellectual sort, as with those merely sensitive. All those mental pleasures which we receive, from the lowest to the highest, proceed immediately and directly, not from the actions which we perform, and

with regard to which we are active, but from the impression made on us by the actions of others ; from the impressions we receive of these actions on us, and with regard to which we are immediately passive. They proceed immediately from our passive state, whether previously by our own actions we ourselves caused this subsequent passive state, or whether it arose independent of any prior action of our own, and only from other causes.

And the highest pleasures we can conceive, as coming from impressions made upon us, and with regard to which we are passive, are precisely those that we receive from impressions produced in us, unmixed with, unpreceded by any actions, any trouble whatever of our own, and leaving us entirely and unmixedly acted upon ; entirely passive, entirely contemplative.

They are such pleasures, such happiness, such felicity, as the sense and the mind receive from the contemplation of beauty ; from the gratification of our curiosity, when our sense and mind are applied to objects capable of feeding their appetite, their voracity, by the nutriment they afford, by the information they give ; by the discoveries of science, by the acquisition of knowledge.

The pleasure which the eye receives on beholding, on being penetrated by, on receiving impressions from the radiance which is transmitted to it by a beautiful, a sublime external ob-



ject, and the delight which the mind experiences when, through the channel of the eye, the cause of this impression penetrates to that mind, and enlightens its curiosity, gives it increased science, increased knowledge, are the direct consequence only of a passive state—a passion in those that feel it: they are only the latter and more remote effect of a prior active state, or action of the elements that give it.

It is thus evident that all enjoyment, all happiness, all felicity, which even man, an entity partly active and partly passive, can feel, arises only more mediately and remotely from the actions involuntary or voluntary which he performs, in order to receive pleasure or happiness. That it only immediately and directly arises from the impression which other things make on us; which things, not willed by us, often make without our intending it; and which things which we intend to give us pleasure, often fail to give. In other words, that pleasure, that happiness arise not directly from our actions, our power, our force, our impulse given to others, our liberty to move them, but, on the contrary, only from our subjection to the power of others; from the impulses, the movement, the impression these others give us; not from our active but our passive state.

Indeed, as soon as an entity becomes capable of being by any other surrounding entity—whether that other itself having any will or any sensation,

or as yet deprived of the faculty of receiving any such—so acted upon, so impressed, so rendered passive as to become capable of sensation, we know that it already becomes capable of feeling pleasure, enjoyment, happiness.

Even while, under the name of a mere brute, an entity is still only capable of impressions or of pleasures of the mere external sense ; while it still is incapable of receiving through the organs of the sense any impressions of the mind, or at least any impressions of the mind sufficiently intense to be called intellectual pleasures ; while it has not organs, faculties, ideas of the mind sufficient to give it a variety, a choice of desires—an option which of its different desires to execute in preference to others ; while it still has not yet what man calls free will, free agency, it already is capable of experiencing pleasures very intense and often very varied.

Who shall deny that a horse, a sheep, a bird, a butterfly, already are capable of enjoyments very intense and very prolonged, though they have not yet any liberty of acting, or even of willing ; though they still are only yet the unwilling slaves of their desires, their sensations ; though their actions, even already voluntary, are not yet free ?

Who shall deny that man, who is capable of adding to the enjoyments of the sense those of the mind, who is capable of feeling in that mind, as in the sense, the grateful titillation

which he derives from the contemplation of beauty, from the acquisition of information, of knowledge, of science, of foresight, of the impressions which external events, entities, elements, and modifications, still future, may by anticipation make on his mind, is capable of receiving from the impressions he experiences, pleasures and enjoyments infinitely more extensive, durable, and crowded than those of the mere sense, which nevertheless only derive directly from his passive state?

And the more man acquires knowledge of former impressions made on him, and of sensations and thoughts, by these impressions excited in him, the more with that knowledge, and with the consequent power, by his reactions on surrounding modifications, and through the medium and instrumentality of these surrounding modifications, in return, by a circle, on himself, to produce impressions on that self which add to his passiveness, the more he adds to his capability of receiving pleasure and happiness; but the more at the same time he also adds to his subjection, his liability to be impelled, influenced, swayed by prior surrounding modifications; the more his will, his actions with regard to others, and through the medium of those others, his more distant impressions again in their turn produced on himself, must diminish his liberty, must induce in him subjection, even to his former self;

must, it is true, render his fetters less heavy, perceptible, but more numerous, more varied, more on all sides surrounding, and confining, and binding his will. Instead of only being like the brute, swayed by a few very evident considerations, he becomes impelled by a number of different and often contradictory views, of which the most powerful, and most intensely affecting him, at last alone gains the preponderance. While the brute is only impelled by the force of instinct, man is impelled by the additional stimulus of all the faculties that constitute his reason.

We know that man, though at first hand by his God, his Creator, made to do all that pleases that Creator—though with regard to that Creator wholly and solely subject—may often experience great enjoyment, great happiness.

Nay, we cannot conceal from ourselves that many individuals, even entire nations, are at second hand despotically governed by human despots,—are as yet destitute of any degree of what is called liberty,—and still in the main are very happy, very contented. We know that as long as the despot knows what is good for the nation he rules, and as long as he wishes that good, the more despotic he is, the more he can effect that good. He even saves others the trouble of thinking, of acting for themselves, before they attain benefit and enjoyment.

Nay, in a despotic government, even if the

despot swerves from the best dispositions respecting his subjects—if he becomes an oppressor, a tyrant—his single weight can only press hard on a few individuals immediately surrounding him. It requires infinite study before oppression can be so organized as to descend in regular gradation from the highest orders to the lowest; and this very study leaves a constant chance of events by which its effects may be counteracted. Even in Turkey the mass of the population is contented and happy; and what more can man wish for? But, on the contrary, in a government in which there is, in a great many individuals, a great deal of freedom, even of licence, a great deal of equality, a great deal of power over a great many others—in which a great many individuals have great means of annoying others—in which, consequently, as there is great power there must also in turn be great subjection, there may be great suffering, great unhappiness, great misery. And such existed anciently in the Greek commonwealths, and in the middle ages in those of Italy.

While the impressions made on man, and which render him passive, are good, are beneficial to him, they make him happy in spite of his want of liberty; nay, the less liberty he has, — the less his impressions are owing to his own prior voluntary actions, the more they are the

mere effect of contemplation—and the more they will, even here, produce his unmixed happiness. It is even on this globe only while the impressions, made upon him by the power, the action of other individuals, are evil, are noxious—while his passiveness leads to suffering, to unhappiness—that a certain comparative degree of liberty is of advantage, in enabling him to withdraw from a yoke too heavy; and to seek another less galling.

As long as on a narrow globe like this a great many individuals, still each wholly distinct and separate from each of the rest, and each nevertheless very close wedged with each of the rest, each have in turns an equal liberty, a licence, a power, a faculty of pushing, of pressing upon, of annoying, of interfering with the rest, this excessive power in each over the rest must needs in its turn in each individually alternate with a subjection, a slavery to the rest very great, very frequent, very sudden, and often very painful; and, as on such a globe the separate individuals become more numerous and close wedged, the more frequent must also in each become the moment of excessive and painful subjection to certain others. It is only on a globe whose different individualities are so blended as to render the action and pressure of each individual over each of the rest less partial, more even and general, that the subjection of each to the action of each of the rest can be felt only as

a pleasure, an enjoyment, a means of happiness, destitute of all mixture of pain. But this circumstance renders liberty a mere means of escaping from evil in this world: not a means of happiness, to which we should look as desirable in a life hereafter. In a future existence we shall probably have our liberty, by all that surrounds us, still from a greater distance in time and place more completely checked and hemmed in; shall be more generally acted upon; shall more only return outward impulses, which we first only from without received; shall be more passive before we in turn become active; and shall, consequently, with less liberty to do evil, with greater confinement to good, be more happy.

Is not the pure contemplation of what from the furthest space withoutside us impresses our sense, and through our sense impresses our mind—of what in space withoutside us has happened, and what, from the necessary reaction of the past over the future, from the necessary connexion between the two, is still fated in space withoutside us to happen—is not the receipt of the radiance that from all surrounding points of space proceeds to us as to its common centre and focus, and gives us an insight, a knowledge, a science of events and modifications gone by, and through the medium of those events and modifications past on us, and of the impressions they necessarily make on us, also give us an insight into

events still to come—is not this contemplation, and the insight, and knowledge, and science resulting from it, of all around, past, and future, when and where least intermixed and blended with the trouble, the anxiety, the pains, the uncertainty of bringing it about ; and when no longer coming in such partial excess and preponderance as to bring pain and trouble with its pleasure—as to become irksome and painful—when entire, unmixed, unconfined, clear, unlimited in time and space, the pleasure, the enjoyment, the happiness, most intense, most pure, most unalloyed, which we can conceive, even here ; and is not this a pleasure, deriving immediately, and directly, and solely from impressions which are, with regard to us that receive them, purely passive ; and can we as yet conceive here, or hereafter, any happiness, greater, or more divested of trouble, of irksomeness, of pain, than the feelings we can receive from this pure and perfect passive contemplation ?



## CHAPTER XL.

*What is meant, what is understood by the word individuality? and how can the very same individual be both active and passive, not only with regard to other individuals different from itself, but with regard to other later and different parts of its own collective self?*

By the word individual is fundamentally meant and fundamentally understood an aggregate of a certain quantity of contiguous portions of time and space : all sensation, all idea of individuality rests on that of a certain quantity of contiguous portion of time and space. All sensation, all thought, of later and more partial individualities, sensible or intellectual, are included in the sensations or thoughts of certain individualities in time and in space. But the sensations and thoughts of time and space themselves, however restricted we may feel or think them, can always be, in the sense and mind, in further time and space, divided in other smaller portions of the time and space, of the combinations of which they are composed. All individual consequently, composed in time and space of lesser portions

successive of time, and of lesser portions simultaneous of space, may singly and individually offer a twofold capacity; stand in a twofold aspect; may, in some of its successive component parts in time, and in some of its simultaneous parts in space, act upon other parts later and different; and in some of its parts later and different be acted upon by other parts earlier and different; be singly and individually both active and passive. An individual may not only act upon and be acted upon by another wholly different individual. An individual may in a circle, in time and in space, act upon and be acted upon by—be both active and passive with regard to—other portions of time and place different from others, composing parts of its own single collective individual self.

Of course, when the Almighty power, out of the attributes and modifications, at first all insentient and unthinking, in which the creation seems to have begun, willed to arise individuals, which with some of the impressions they received from other contiguous individuals also of these impressions received from these other individuals feelings and thoughts, and to arise individuals which, with some of the impressions they gave to other contiguous individuals, also of these impressions give these other individuals feelings and thoughts, these individuals singly continued active with regard to those other in-

dividuals, and to those other parts of the same individual when, in a circle in time and space, they, by their earlier impressions, produced in these others and in themselves sensations and thoughts of these impressions; and became passive when, in that circle in time and in space, they received, with these impressions, sensations and thoughts of them.

And whether, as on this more restricted globe, fewer parts, simultaneous and successive, are blended together in a single individual, and more separate smaller individuals, simultaneous and successive, are left separate; or whether, as we suppose will be the case in another and roomier globe, more parts simultaneous and successive be blended together in fewer and larger distinct and separate individuals, still must, as long as time and space continue to last, and to be composed of a continuation of lesser parts, these individuals each remain singly and individually passive with regard to what preceded them and caused their existence, and the impressions, and sensations, and thoughts they receive, and active with regard to what follows them and causes the existence they in their turn give to other entities, or in a circle, to other later parts of their own individual entities.

In this narrow and confined globe the different attributes and modifications are so crowded that they often interfere with and check each other;

that their impulses, their actions, their movements, their impressions, stand in each other's way; that they prevent each other, and thus cause a friction excessive, and instead of only, where they occasion sensation and thought, producing sensations and thoughts of pleasure, by their excess producing sensations and thoughts of suffering and pain.

But in another world, where there is more elbow room, all its actions, impulses, and movements, finding more space and more time to extend in, and becoming more proportionate, more harmonious, and more free, both from deficiency and from excess, will alike only enable the producer to produce, and the receiver to receive enjoyment and happiness, unmixed with any remains of suffering and pain.

In proportion as a greater number of lesser separate individualities are blended together in a single greater individuality, this greater single individuality must directly become both more extensively passive to all that surrounds it, and more extensively reactive over all that surrounds it.

## CHAPTER XL.

*Pause !*

HAVE I sufficiently explained my idea? Have I said clearly enough that unless all analogy fail us, unless all progress from the past to the future be stopped short, unless all inference from things gone by to things still to come to go for nothing, we are founded to believe ourselves here, and on quitting this world, on our way only to higher worlds, where the genus man, comprehending all the modifications inanimate and animated, inorganised and organic, vegetable and animal, sentient and intellectual,—from the first and simplest to the last and highest, on which it was founded—No longer divided in petty individuals, some earlier, others later—some here, others there—distinct and separate from each other—fathers parted from their offspring—children severed from their parents,—each individual having views, interests, designs different and disconnected from those of the rest,—shall every where be all united in one single connected individual:—where, by the eternal connexion and concatenation of all things, all that

has happened from the first beginning of time and of space, shall equally by the Almighty be pressed upon our sight, and held up to our eternal contemplation!

## CHAPTER XLI.

*Is education an advantage to the lower classes?*

IT has been asked, is it better on this globe to leave the humble, the poor, the lower classes, in their native ignorance, or to educate them, to give them more knowledge? To this I answer: as long as they can be left, while in their native ignorance, to preserve their innocence and their contentment, their lot, perhaps, is more conducive to their happiness than more information: they can be but happy. But in the higher human races a period will come when even the mind of the poor, the humble, the lower classes, will be roused from its torpor; when it will receive a certain developement; when it will seek a certain knowledge; when the higher classes, do what they will, can no longer entirely keep the lower classes under, can no longer prevent them from attaining a certain degree of information; when, if the lower classes are not taught enough to be satisfied with their lot, or only to seek amending it only by laudable means, by industry, by production, by doing good, they will learn enough to be dissatisfied with their situation, to

do evil, to make bad worse, and to render those above them and themselves miserable. In nature, in society, in human affairs, this progress is unavoidable ; and it is equally so to find among the individuals that are no longer of the lower and more ignorant classes, nor yet among the higher orders, some, who for their private purposes will in the lower foment this dissatisfaction, and make that discontent tend to the detriment of the higher orders, and to their own ultimate misery. It then becomes the wisdom, the policy of the higher orders, who can no longer stifle the seeds of knowledge in the lower classes, to direct their activity to good only—to give these lower classes sufficient knowledge of the different effects of good and evil, to make them curb their tendency to evil and destruction—to lead them to the superior knowledge that good alone is the general and certain ultimate road to happiness—to counteract that little knowledge that might lead to discontent, to repining at one's lot, and to evil, by that greater knowledge, which leads only to good and to happiness ; and where tracts have by enemies of the people been disseminated to render them dissatisfied, and to teach them to repine at what is, to disseminate other counteracting tracts, in order to finish their education, and teach them the means to improve their happiness, by increasing their powers of good and of production.



## CHAPTER XLII.

*Why should, in a state, individuals have over the measures of other individuals, which are called public measures, and are intended for the good of all, a greater influence, in proportion as they are richer, higher born, and have connexions more numerous and more varied?*

BECAUSE each individual, in proportion as he already has possessions, rank and situation more extended, more important, more varied, more showing; as already his welfare is connected with that of a wider surrounding base; stands on a higher supporting pinnacle, rests on the prosperity of a more numerous depending population, both from what he already has and must fear to lose, and from what more he may reasonably expect to gain or not to gain, according as the country to which he belongs is well or ill governed—according as its defence, its security, its prosperity, are neglected or are attended to,—both from his fears and his hopes,—must feel a greater repugnance to whatever measure may

tend to have the resources of a larger tract, the means of more numerous inhabitants ill administered, the security and welfare of a greater population sacrificed to those of fewer individuals; because he must feel a greater interest and desire to see over a vaster region and among greater multitudes of men, the general welfare of all more predominate over the private welfare which a few may only attain at the expense of the many: because he must be more conscious that his personal advantage depends upon the prosperity of tracts more extended, of other individuals more numerous and more important; and because each individual, in proportion as he already has possessions, rank, situation more extended, more varied, more thriving—as already his welfare is connected with that of a wider surrounding base, stands on a higher supporting pinnacle, rests on the prosperity of a more numerous population—as he reckons more connexions and more dependants—not only must more apprehend to let views, interests, defence, security, protection and welfare, more contracted, which are only personal to himself, and only are attainable at the expense of those of other individuals, interfere with, and eclipse, and darken, and obscure his view of the general and public welfare of the community at large: he must not only more wish to see his private and personal wel-

fare and prosperity only increased through means of the welfare and the prosperity of the community at large, but must not merely from his possessions, his rank, his situation, but still more from his leisure, his education, his pursuits, his acquirements more numerous, more extended, and more varied, of what may to him, not only as a private individual, but as a member of the commonwealth at large, be most beneficial, have also the means of gaining from regions more extensive, from periods more remote and more general, and from individuals more numerous and varied, information, knowledge, science, more minute, more explicit, calculated to guide the greater power and influence he possesses, to the more extensive, and minute, and certain, and equal production of this public benefit and welfare; because he can better know how, with the smallest personal and individual sacrifices, to produce the greatest public advantages; because a man who has only a small domain, a few acres of ground, a circumscribed pursuit—who only grows, produces, manufactures, or trades in a single or a few articles—who only follows up a single avocation, attends only to a few personal concerns, can neither have the same desire nor employ the same means to prevent that any part of the country should be sacrificed to some other part, the same anxiety

that every part should be alike flourishing—cannot suffer so much, be vulnerable in parts so distant from his person and from each other; cannot feel so anxious that every part alike be well administered; that each bear the public burthens in exact proportion to its capabilities, as he whose possessions are more extended, more varied, more distant from each other; who thus knows better the proportion of what each part individually can bear to lose or to gain by the gain or loss of each other part; because, while the more humble, the more confined to bodily toil and labour, can more plead necessity for their ignorance of the connexion between their private benefit and the public weal, the rich and high can less allege their attention to the former as an excuse for neglecting the latter; and because, if we admit that men in a state of nature, and as isolated individuals, may be governed by mere instinct, or by personal and private views alone, we should not presume that men, after having for the sake of gaining more than they sacrifice, by entering with each other in a social compact, can again of these superior advantages lose sight so completely, should so take leave of all wisdom, all policy, as to sacrifice the public good to their private weal. As long as nature produces on this globe different individuals, and those at different periods, she

cannot produce these as all at the same period equal in faculties of body and of intellect; equal in possessions and in powers. Some must have less, others more sway.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

*At certain periods in certain states, certain rules and regulations have, by common consent, been considered as right and proper—have been agreed to as laws, privileges, properties, of peculiar individuals and stations, and have been assented to by the remainder of the population; which a change of times and circumstances,—of feelings and opinions,—have at other different periods caused to be by later individuals felt as oppressive and grievous. Should these then, by the heirs and successors of these prior individuals that expressly or tacitly consented to them, on the plea of consistency, of maintenance of ancient chartered rights and privileges, be against those that suffer from them be maintained; or should they be given up: should reforms, by those that then alone remained gainers by these rights, become oppressive to others, gained by, be consented to, or even be proposed?*

IN a society for common benefit, by common consent established, each man can only be supposed to have expressly agreed to sacrifice certain rights, which nature gave him with regard

to other individuals, in consideration of certain other greater advantages which he obtained from those others, in compensation of those rights given up. No man can, in a society formed for the good of all, be supposed or considered as having expressly consented to granting certain other privileges, to which he was not by nature bound, to his own detriment, and without adequate compensation.

But individuals die and are succeeded by others, and in most countries laws have been established, by which the relations of people that die should, as nearest to them, step into their properties and possessions: should be their heirs. A regulation which is an extension of the law of nature, by which property only belongs to the first occupant. By this regulation, enforced by society, some have stepped into great rights and privileges, and others, coming later, have been debarred from any—have been left destitute. This is no reason why of those who for their own advantage and with their own free-will consented, at a period when they found their own benefit in doing so, to grant others certain privileges, the later descendants, who did not expressly consent to those privileges, should still at later periods, when by their tenor aggrieved, and when with reason wishing them abrogated, in virtue of mere laws of inheritance, framed in opposition to the laws of nature, and depriving

certain individuals born after others of their natural rights, be considered as bound by them; and as having, without their fault, doing, or consent, forfeited their natural claims. The only real reason can be found in the superior might of those that first got possession, and that are determined to keep it; and to leave it to those they like. But even if they had an undoubted and undisputed right, there would after a certain period be a policy in gradually making concessions, since it is dangerous to resist what the majority of the people for good and cogent reasons demand, till the pressure and torrent of public opinion rushes with sufficient strength to break the barriers, and tear open with violence the dykes and sluices, which, by gently and gradually opening, might have let the accumulating waters, without deluge or havoc, gently off, to the equal advantage of all.



## CHAPTER XLIV.

*Conclusion.*

TEN or twelve years ago, when I first published the result of my long sojourn in the east, in the shape of a historic novel, I intended Anastasius to have been immediately followed up by an essay on beauty, taken in the most extensive sense of the word, and embracing alike every species of attribute, physical and intellectual, of which the mere passive contemplation affords, through the channel of the senses, to the mind capable of appreciating them, the exalted pleasures of which the cause is called beauty.

The collecting of the materials required for this disquisition had occupied a great portion of my early life, and I purposed to dedicate my work, when perfected, to her to whom I owe the most exquisite enjoyment of my existence, and in whom I had found the most perfect model of all the qualities of person and of intellect of which I meant to investigate the principles.

Every step, however, which I attempted to take towards the completion of my task, made me feel more fully, how much more extensive

was my undertaking—how much more arduous would be my labours, than I had first anticipated. I found that the first principles of the attribute called beauty lay in the earliest modifications of matter, and that its ultimate and highest effects only showed themselves in the last and noblest faculties of mind. The greatest bliss which we are destined to enjoy in a future world, will probably consist in the tranquil contemplation of all the beauties—all the harmonies—which we then will perceive and be struck with, in the organization and movements of the universe.

The mere preliminaries of my principal aim have thus produced the work which I here submit to the tender mercies of the public. Doubtful, very doubtful, whether I shall be granted time to achieve it, I wish to give the short synopsis of its destined contents, which long and deep meditation on the subject has led me to form.

All sensations of pleasure begin in the external sense, or at least in what we are still, on this globe, agreed to call the external sense, in order to distinguish it, from that assemblage of more internal, and abridged, and undeveloped organs and faculties, which we still distinguish by the name of mind ; and of all sensations of pleasure the immediate cause is intrinsically called good ; but of all sensations of pleasure the immediate

cause is not yet called beautiful,—or, in the abstract, beauty. There are modifications grateful to the senses of touch, taste, smell, even of hearing and sight, which are good, and which are grateful, but which give not yet a pleasure sufficiently intense and marked to call its cause beautiful. No person sufficiently educated to have a sense of the pleasure derived from beauty would apply the term beautiful to the merits of a soft couch, a dainty viand, even a fine perfume, however grateful these might be to the sense: and the Greeks, who certainly had a very quick sense of the delights derived from beauty, only continued to apply to its attributes the general term of good, or *kalos*. Later, when more words were introduced, in order to discriminate the finer shades of feeling, by external modifications produced, the modifications of sound and those of sight were, of the modifications immediately affording delight to the external sense, the first and simplest which, when capable of giving very great pleasure, received the distinctive epithet of beautiful. The note of the nightingale was judged beautiful; so was the colour of a carnation, the form of a rose, and the movement of a swan on the glassy pool.

Afterwards again the power of giving pleasure to the senses of hearing and sight received, according to its different degrees, other more partial denominations. Some things, allowed to be

good, but still only capable of giving by their contemplation a pleasure comparatively feeble, will only be called pretty, others will be called handsome, others beautiful, nay others even sublime: and the sort of beauty which is displayed by movements is peculiarly called grace. It is, however, evident, that as the sense, less or more intense, of beauty, must depend upon the susceptibilities of the person beholding its attributes, the same thing will by one person only be allowed to be pretty, which by another person will be called handsome, by another beautiful, and by another even sublime. A clown will perhaps think he honours a fine sunset by calling it pretty, which a man of fine taste will regard as evincing downright sublimity.

Much nonsense has been written about the meaning of the word sublime, and many attributes have been called sublime on very absurd grounds. I know none to which the term is properly applied, except those of which the contemplation gives intense pleasure. I do not say that that pleasure may not be accompanied by a certain degree of awe, or even terror; but in that case the awe, the terror, only accompanies, does not produce, the pleasure; and if carried too far it even extinguishes all feeling of pleasure. Nobody thinks a rack, a gibbet, a hobgoblin sublime, however awful, however terrible; and the servant who follows his master up the

crag of Etna, will from the scene perhaps, with much more intense feelings of terror, derive sensations of the sublimity infinitely feebler than his master. The same thing of which the sublimity will only strike partially when viewed from an insecure spot, in which apprehension for our safety forms a diversion to our finer feelings, will only strike with all its sublimity, when contemplated from where our mind is at liberty to attend secure to all its beauties; and we shall in a forest avert our eyes from the boa constrictor, which in the zoological garden we shall behold with rapture.

I have already, higher up, shown that probably all radiations of sound only have their sensible beginnings within the atmosphere of peculiar planets or worlds; that we cannot discern impressions of sound coming from a further distance than our own peculiar atmosphere; that, consequently, the beauties of sound cannot strike us from a higher, a more extensive, or more distant quarter than the limits of our own globe; but that the radiations of light—those that cause in us the impressions of sight—reach our persons from the furthest heavens.

On the beauties displayed by the modifications of sound, as these have comparatively in space and in time a limited and circumscribed province, I shall not here further expatiate; I

shall confine my researches to the beauties that begin with impressing the sense of sight.

The beauties, discernible in external objects through the sense of sight, may exist in these objects, and not be felt at all, as long as no beholders exist, or even as long as beholders have not the peculiar sentient faculties fit to feel, or to derive pleasure from them. Visible beauties of different sorts and degrees, may find in different entities faculties less or more able to feel them. Some men shall remain entirely indifferent to any beauties of sight whatever: some shall only, of the beauties of sight feel those of mere light, without feeling those of colour, or form, or of movement: others shall feel the beauties of colour—be enraptured over a bed of tulips or hyacinths—and be indifferent to those of the visible forms, which these lights and shades, or these different colours, by their variety, their outline, and their contrast produce: others again shall also feel the beauties of stationary forms; and others, finally, shall be impressed by the successive variations and changes in these forms, which constitute the beauties of movement and grace. Some connoisseurs in painting are in raptures with the beauties of a Rubens, who see not those of a Raphael.

But the beauties of external objects that delight the sense—those that, because the sense is

the judge of them, are called sensible,—are only the most superficial : they come from the shortest distance withoutside the body, and they penetrate to the least distance withinside the mind. There are, in external objects, other beauties, which, though they can, like the former, only through the medium and channel of the organs of sense, make their impression on, and be felt by the intellect, yet go deeper in the mind than the former ones, make, through the organs and faculties of the sense, their impression on the higher organs and faculties of the mind : by their contemplation more evidently produce the pleasure which they afford in the organs and faculties of the mind, and therefore are called, no longer merely sensible, but intellectual.

I say, though they can, like the former, only through the medium and channel of the organs of sense make their impression and be felt ; for whatever beauty we may conceive, and however much we may call it intellectual, in view of the organs and faculties on which it produces its chief effect of pleasure, it still, like every thing else that makes an impression on the mind, can only make that impression on the mind, through the medium and channel of the preliminary outposts of that mind, the organs of the external sense.

As in the external sense there are different organs : namely, those of touch, taste, smell,

hearing and sight, each instrumental to and supporting different faculties, so in the mind there also are different faculties, each resting, as I have shown, on different organs, namely, those of recollection, of imagination, of comparison, and of abstraction : and whatever external object is so modified as by its contemplation through the sense to afford any of these different faculties when properly cultivated, an eminent pleasure is said to possess a certain degree of intellectual beauty.

Thus certain things may by their size, others by their durability, others by their physical strength or their mental power, others by their utility, their appropriateness, their ingenuity, or by any other quality, when possessed in so eminent a degree as to cause through its mere contemplation a sensible degree of pleasure, be entitled to the epithet of beautiful.

We enjoy a pleasure in thinking of, we find a beauty in contemplating an ingenious problem, a useful invention, a clever machine, a stupendous structure. We dwell with a feeling of delight on the sight or idea of the pyramids of Egypt, or of the wall of China, though they have no attributes that particularly strike the sense ; because the mind is astounded by the thoughts of the ingenuity they have required, or the labour they have cost, or the time they have stood, or the effects they are cal-



culated to produce: for the same reason we talk of the beauty of virtue, of propriety, of modesty, of magnanimity. We call certain actions handsome, beautiful, sublime.

Already productions of mere nature may possess different degrees of beauty sensible and intellectual. Great as are the beauties to the sense, and even to the mind, of a rich ore, a precious gem, a rare mineral, how much are not they exceeded, by those more numerous, of the most trifling organized entity! how superior to the beauties of a mere vegetable again are those of an animal, which to mere movements produced by a pressure from without, adds motions produced by an impulse from within; and above all, how greatly above the highest beauties of a brute rise those of form and of movement of a human being! What a number of subjects for the most delightful contemplation to the faculties both of the sense and the mind, do not the attributes of the latter afford, which do not exist in any of the former!

Nor should I, even among the beauties more inherent, more capable of being felt by all, more lasting, which an object may derive from its permanent attributes, omit those less intrinsic, less stationary, less durable,—more adventitious, —more transient,—more fugitive, which it may derive merely from that rarity, that novelty, calculated for a time to prevent it from palling

upon the sense or the mind, and causing its contemplation transiently to give a double enjoyment. This novelty is what makes us behold with such delight, and find such beauty in an object, while very scarce of its sort : in a gem, a precious stone of unusual size and purity.

But productions of human art may, to the contemplation of man, in his capacity as an entity endowed with faculties of reason, beside beauties sensible and intellectual of the same sort with those offered by productions of nature, offer beauties of another and a different sort, which productions of mere nature cannot display.

Of these latter sort of beauties, only to be seen in productions of human art, the first and foremost is that of imitation.

Nature, whatever she does, is always original. She can repeat herself millions of times ; she cannot imitate herself in a single instance : but man may by his art constantly imitate nature. Man may in certain materials, and by a certain process, produce a resemblance to certain effects, which nature has produced by materials or by a process very different ; and man may, by the skill and ingenuity displayed in his imitative performance, and by the agreeable occupation it affords to the faculties of comparison and discrimination of the beholder, in discerning the real difference, and in finding out the intended resemblance, cause the contemplation to afford

great pleasure, and the work to offer great beauty to the mind, even where, being the good imitation of an unsightly object, it have nothing in it directly to please the sense. Thus a good imitation of a pigsty, or of a wrinkled old hag, in painting, or that of a ridiculous coxcomb or an antiquated coquette in a drama, may, through the skill the imitation evinces, merely as imitation, have great merit, great power of pleasing, great beauty, though the original itself have none.

And if the good and arduous imitation of an original itself ugly already has powers of pleasing, and attributes of beauty, the good imitation of an original, itself handsome, will have tenfold more beauty and more powers of pleasing, first, because the good imitation of a handsome object, and which has attributes of light, colour, form, and movement very vivid and very definite, is always more difficult, and requires greater attention and skill than that of an ugly object, of which the visible attributes are more arbitrary, less definite; and, secondly, because the imitation moreover of the greater powers of directly pleasing the sense, already possessed by the original, inherits a portion.

Besides imitative beauties which human art can offer, both to the sense and to the mind, human art can, through the sense, but only to the mind, offer descriptive beauties, like those presented by an interesting history, a good tale,

a clever poem, which in that mind give to the faculties of recollection, of imagination, of comparison, of discrimination and of judgment, in the contemplation of them, an easy and a pleasant excitement and occupation.

Of the beauties of imitation, some only address the sense; penetrate not, or only penetrate a little way, in the mind; others through the medium of the sense address the mind more pointedly. Among the former are those which address the ear only—namely, imitations of sounds; and those others which address the eye only—imitations of light, such as a drawing in black and white chalk, or a design in Indian ink, may present; or imitation of colours, such as, in a picture, various pigments may offer; or imitations of forms, such as a model, a carving may display; or imitations of movements—of forms exhibiting, in addition to stationary and permanent modifications, changing situations,—such as may be presented by those moveable puppets called automata; and moreover by real live persons, when of the actions and gestures, in other live persons by internal movements or passions of the mind prompted, they imitate the external display, under the name of mimetic performances.

Of the beauties of imitation, which through the medium of the sense chiefly address the mind, the principal are those which, through the

channel of the ear or the eye—of sound or of sight—imitate the audible or visible expression of the movements or passions of the human mind, in pantomimes, in dialogues, and in dramas.

Having thus stated what in external objects are called beauties, let us reverse the medal, and inquire what in them are called deformities, uglinesses.

People are apt to imagine that the word ugliness, deformity, means the exact converse of the word beauty; that, as whatever is pleasing to the higher senses of hearing and sight is called beautiful, whatever is displeasing to these is called ugly, deformed. This, however, is not exactly the case.

A sound may to a certain degree be pleasing, and be called beautiful; and when carried to a greater pitch, and becoming harsh or loud, piercing or stunning, become displeasing, irksome, painful, and yet for all that not be thought to deserve the epithet of ugly. The pleasing murmur of a gentle stream may become the loud roar of a cataract, and yet not be accused of ugliness.

In the same way a vision, a spectacle, a combination of light, colour, forms, visible movements, may become so multifarious, so rapid in its changes, as to become to the eye that contemplates it fatiguing, irksome, painful, and yet

not be called ugly. The sun, though its light dazzles, is not called ugly.

Visible attributes, addressed to the sense of sight, must have in them a something of which the contemplation, through the medium of the sense, makes some disagreeable impression on certain of the faculties of the very mind—of recollection, of imagination, of comparison, or of reason—before they are called ugly or deformed. The sensation of ugliness or deformity is entirely a sensation of the mind.

This is so true, that certain combinations of lights, of colours, of forms, and of movements, which in marble, or any other material in which they could make no disagreeable impression on the mind, would please the sense extremely—as we see in certain porphyries and breccias, interspersed with vivid spots and veins—shall in certain other substances, as in tainted meat, in which they suggest to the intellect ideas disagreeable and revolting, as of decay and corruption, through the reaction of the intellectual impression, to the very sense appear disgusting, deformed, ugly; and shall induce us to avert the eye from them; as if that eye itself immediately suffered from their sight, instead of only being the instrument and medium through which the mind suffers from their contemplation.

Thus the same colours which, in their right place, and where they denote health and well-

being, by their vividness please, and make us dwell with delight on the contemplation of them—the crimson which on the chubby cheek, the purple which in the meandering veins, the coral which on the pouting lip, charm the sight,—will offend, when that same crimson, in the bottle nose, that same purple, in the angry pimple, that same coral, round the inflamed eyelid, denote ill health or suffering.

Forms most fuscous, most confused, most indistinct, will, in the trunk of a decayed tree, and where they suggest no disagreeable idea, still be thought picturesque, when forms already more distinct, more clear, more symmetrical, combined in a skeleton, will, merely by suggesting the idea of death, exhibit a combination by many deemed exceedingly ugly.

It fares the same with movement. The motions of halting and limping, in themselves and directly to the sense offering nothing offensive, only because, through the sense, they suggest a defect to the mind, through that mind in return react on the sense, present to the sense ugliness and deformity, and are by that sense beheld with pain.

Even in human beings, colours, forms, and movements beautiful to the eye—every attribute of elegance and of grace,—but accompanied by an expression which conveys something sinister to the mind, and leaves on that mind some

disagreeable impression—an oblique cast in the eye, a look of hypocrisy or design—will have their beauty impaired by a certain degree of deformity, of ugliness.

There is a feeling of deformity, of ugliness, of displeasure, which we derive from the contemplation of an external object, in itself indifferent, merely from our expectations concerning that object having been raised too high ; merely from our having anticipated in it beauties which we do not find, and which leave us disappointed.

Thus a picture which, if only considered as a sketch, or as a general imitation of human nature, may be thought very pleasing, very well performed, will, on the contrary, if it be considered as a finished performance, or as the imitation of the lineaments of a peculiar person, and be deemed to fail in its resemblance to that peculiar individual, be reckoned very bad, very displeasing, very paltry.

Thus again an expression which in common prose, and uttered off-hand and without pretension, may pass unnoticed, uncensured, when ushered as the effect of premeditation, of study ; when introduced in poetry, or in a drama,—when surrounded by a pompous preface or frame—will, from its not answering the expectations raised, appear not only trite, insipid, but bad, positively ugly, deformed. We shall deem that habitation which, as the hovel of a poor man, we look upon



with complacency, when we consider it as the mansion of a king, mean, unworthy, ugly, and offering, with the state of its owner, contrasts and fallings off offensive and disagreeable.

Such is already even here the harmony of the different attributes of nature, that in general as they have more of the requisites of external beauty, they also have more of those of internal goodness. But still, as the nature of this globe is itself far from perfect, there are in it many things, which may be very pleasing to the external sense, when only superficially contemplated; and which nevertheless may on the mind, when their effect penetrates deeper in the same, leave on it a very disagreeable impression—be by it deemed very ugly and deformed. The reverse may also be the case. A human being, ugly and deformed to the sense, may to the mind, by his intellectual qualities, become a sublime object. The same modification may thus, according to the different aspects in which we view it, often either be very handsome or very ugly; and our judgment in that respect must entirely depend upon the attributes which we take as the criterion of beauty or of ugliness.

Still I have said enough to show that beauty, that ugliness are not merely imaginary—not mere creations of the mind; that external objects, according as they are modified, become capable of giving to the sense and the mind of

the beholder a certain degree of pleasure, of which we call the cause beauty, or a certain degree of pain, of which we call the cause deformity; that of external objects the beauty or the ugliness depends on the greater or less correspondence or discord they offer with the organs and faculties of sense and of mind, pointedly called in to contemplate them, and to feel their impressions; and that the word taste,—which in its literal sense is only the faculty of judging of the flavours of external objects; of the degree of pleasure these are able to give to the papillæ of palate—in its figurative sense, in which it judges of the degree of pleasure they are fit to give to the higher senses and the mind, has its rules, as unerring, as little arbitrary as it has in the former sense.

Nor does it prove any thing to the contrary that tastes differ; that one person shall think an object handsome, beautiful, which another person thinks ugly, deformed; as long as the two different persons only judge that object by different criteria. The man may call a woman beautiful, who only judges her by her outward form, and another man may call her ugly, who only judges her by her mind within; and both may be equally right.

It does not even prove any thing to the contrary that people may accustom their figurative, their mental taste, like their bodily taste, to

relish attributes generally thought displeasing; that as some men like tobacco and snuff, which to a pure and uncorrupted taste are offensive and nauseous, some may be brought to like defects, deformities of body or mind—vulgarity, obscenity, and the like. They can only do so by vitiating their natural taste; and for one relish they will thus acquire for what is bad or ugly, they will, by blunting their faculties, lose a hundred finer relishes for what is good and handsome. They will relish the peach and the nectarine less, as they acquire a greater hankering after smoke and tobacco.

Now we find that, in consequence of the peculiar relationship between external objects and man's organization of sense and of intellect, which those objects first formed, and next affect, in proportion as productions of nature and art are first chosen, and are next combined, in such a way as to enable them to cause in each of the different faculties of the sense and of the mind, on which they are calculated by their contemplation to make an impression—in those of the ear and the eye; in those of the memory, the imagination, the comparison, the discrimination and the judgment—an impression more intense and more vivid, still remaining compatible with pleasure, and short of that excess which produces pain; as moreover those productions sensible and intellectual, have more of that variety which

enables the sense and the mind, the instant these faculties begin from the contemplation of any one of them in particular no longer to derive any increasing pleasure, but stand on the brink of deriving from it fatigue, lassitude and pain, without loss of time and space, to pass over to the contemplation of some other modification, which, capable of acting on organs and faculties of sense and mind still fresh, shall still be able to give these a pleasure destitute of pain—as, for instance, from the contemplation of sounds the sense and mind shall be enabled to pass to that of sights; and in sights from that of mere lights to that of various colours; from that of mere colours to that of various forms; from that of forms to that of movements; from attributes which only please the sense to those that please the mind—the faculties of memory, of imagination, of comparison, of discrimination, of reason, of judgment, of reflection—from beauties of nature to beauties of art; from beauties unimitative and undescriptive to beauties imitative and descriptive; and as by each of these different modifications sensible and intellectual remaining, on the one hand, sufficiently distinct and separate from each of the others, to be able separately in its contemplation to occupy the sense and the mind, while it can afford these pleasure uninterfered with, undiverted from, unconfused by the impression of any of the other

remaining modifications, and, on the other hand, sufficiently to be with each of the rest blended in a single greater whole, as, the moment it threatens by its further contemplation to cause fatigue or pain, to allow the sense and mind without difficulty—without a hitch or stoppage—to glide away from it to the contemplation of some other attribute capable of making an impression new and fresh, these productions of nature and art affect the sense and the mind of those, capable by cultivation to understand and to feel their merit, with beauties sensible and intellectual, more intense, more durable, more calculated by their contemplation to fill that sense and that mind with a pleasure more intense and more lasting—less in danger by satiety to pall upon the organs of sense and mind, and to cause in these organs lassitude and a desire of change.

We find that in imitative works where the beauty lies in the pleasure derived from the truth of that imitation, the more attributes the original offers to imitate, and the greater number of these attributes are by art imitated well, the more difficulty, and choice, and genius, there appears in the imitation; and the greater consequently will be the beauty of that imitation.

That thus, though already the most trifling imitation, so produced that the intention of imitating shall be apparent, and shall seem successful,—though already the mere imitation of

the outline of a mountain or a cloud, in black and white, may please,—the good imitation of an organized production will be entitled to please more; that of an animated entity still more; that of a human being still more than that of a mere brute; that of a human form, of which all the component parts are selected with the utmost care and attention, more than that of a human form of which the component attributes are taken indiscriminately; and that of human entities, placed with regard to each other in such connexion, intellectual and bodily, that their minds are seen to react on each other, will be enabled to please intelligent minds more than that of human entities insulated and separate; as long as that connexion can be faithfully represented by the artists, and can be embraced by the beholder.

That thus, though even a mere eye or nose or mouth, an arm, a leg, a bust, in its character as imitation, has a right to please, if, in as far as it goes, and aims at resembling the original, it is faithful and succeeds, a whole figure, imitating also the connexion between the different parts of the body, is calculated to please more; and that, though an imitation in chalk, or in Indian ink, only showing the lights, not the colours of the original, may be very beautiful, an imitation of the local tints of an object is more beautiful.

That though a pantomime imitating the mere

external actions and movements of the human body may be pleasing, a drama, imitating the internal movements and impulses of the human mind, when good, must be a thousand times more pleasing.

That though already a drama—a comedy, or a tragedy—which, in its imitation of the forms and movements of nature and of art, whether of a more vulgar sort or of a more select description, offers great faithfulness, great truth, great variety, great impressiveness, may already in its different component parts, each taken separately, present great individual merits, produce great individual pleasure both to the eye and to the mind of the beholder, even while these different parts still be ill connected together, while they still harmonize so little with each other, that the impression of later scenes again effaces the impression produced by earlier scenes; that each later part does not yet, by its accord, or even by its contrast with a prior part, increase the effect of that prior part, its own, or that of the whole; yet a drama, which, in addition to separate scenes equally faithful, equally true, equally varied, equally impressive with those of the former spectacle, shall moreover, between those scenes be discerned to present that connexion, that relationship, and that harmony, which enables the later scenes to recall the earlier ones, to explain them more clearly, and, by their reference to, and

even contrast with these earlier ones, to render these, and themselves, more impressive, more striking than they would singly, and out of their connexion with what precedes and what follows, have been; and which enables the ultimate winding up of the action to strike with the force of all its former incidents, brought to bear upon, and to be concentrated in a single focus, shall, as a whole, offer beauties and give pleasures still infinitely more intense and striking: and the essential, the leading, the characteristic difference between the system of the English and of the French stage only consists in the English having sacrificed too much of the connexion, of the harmony, and of the effect of the whole, to the prominence of certain minor and partial details; and the French having, on the contrary, in their blind devotion to the rules of the unities,—of which that of action alone is of vital consequence to the interest of the subject, and that of time and of place are of little importance, except in as far as they render the representation more easily intelligible, and leave the mind more at leisure to dwell on its real beauties,—suffered too many of the charms of detail that vivify the mass, and give it truth and animation, to be kept out of sight, and thereby to leave it destitute of *chiaroscuro* and of prominence.

Ideal imitation, or ideal beauty, is not that which is destitute of original: of what should



that be the imitation? We are unable to conceive any thing in the mind, that has not been previously offered to the sense; and beauty or even truth cannot exist in art, which has not first been beheld in nature. What is called *ideal* imitation is that imitation of which the different component parts, though in nature found separate from each other, and often in different individuals, have in the mind of the imitator, by his ideas been brought nearer, been more concentrated in one focus, more divested of intervening parts, even imitative, but less interesting than those retained; and have thus, by their approximation and selection, been rendered more striking than generally are the originals of nature. This ideal imitation may be displayed in sculpture, in painting, in the drama, in objects striking the sense, in objects striking the mind—in objects ugly, as well as handsome: but when presented in handsome objects, it is infinitely more pleasing, as well as more difficult, than indiscriminate and unselected imitation.

But while we find that, though the least attribute of an original, well imitated, by presenting success, has a right to please the beholder, the most important feature, ill imitated, and presenting a failure, has an equal right, through the sense, to displease, and present deformity to the mind; and the more, in proportion as the failure is more marked and more striking.

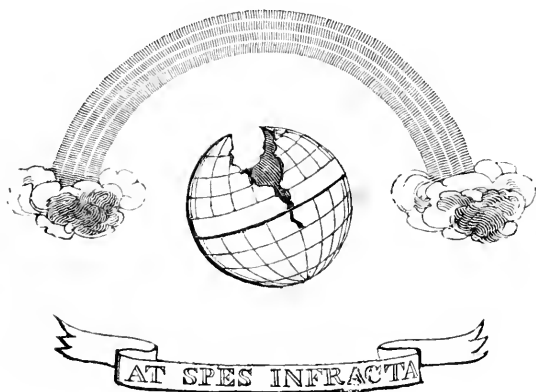
Works of human art, unimitative and imitative, in addition to their more direct beauties and powers of pleasing, may offer other charms in the scarcity or novelty of the material; or in the associations they present with peculiar events or persons: in the capabilities of affording to certain persons connected with these entities or events peculiar pleasures and fascinations, which perhaps they may not possess to the sense or mind of other individuals, or of man in general.

Such, for instance, shall to a fond child offer the lock of hair that belonged to an affectionate parent; to a doting lover offer the riband worn by an adored mistress; to the curious, in general, offer the chair in which Buonaparte meditated on the conquest of the world.

All then that remains is, in our actions, intended by their beauty to strike the beholder, to conform to this experience: in our practice to follow these principles: in our combinations to build on these grounds: in this world—since the pleasures produced by the contemplation of beauty are the highest of which man is susceptible—to produce as much beauty, sensible and intellectual, as we can; and to live in the hopes that when, with this life, the substances more coarse, more confined, and with their beauties still mixing more deformities, that fed it, fall away,—when radiance alone remains and wafts

our spirit to more exalted globes—we shall from a higher and more central point of view, in the tranquil contemplation of the harmonies of worlds innumerable, enjoy a felicity without bounds in time or place.

If, in expectation of this glorious consummation, I meanwhile for a time take leave of my reader, it will only be according to my family motto, which, whatever else may fall away, represents hope as still remaining unimpaired; still pointing to another and a better place.



THE END.

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